



## Kitchen and Banquet: The History of Ancient Metalware

Dorothy Kent Hill

THE WALTERS Art Gallery, Baltimore, Maryland is holding a small summer exhibition of Greek, Roman, and Etruscan metalware, called "Kitchen and Banquet." The material is to be installed in one room on the first floor of the building, in a setting designed to suggest a modern kitchen with custom-made, built-in cabinets. The producer of the exhibition is Dorothy Kent Hill, Curator of Ancient Art. The vessels are all drawn from the gallery's own collections.

THE WALTERS Collection bequeathed to the City of Baltimore in 1931 by Henry Walters (1848-1931) was in large part his personal accumulation, but owed something to the work of his father William T. Walters (1820-1894). The building which Mr. Walters had constructed for his museum in 1906 was badly overcrowded by the time of his death. Part of the collection is in storage at all times. Temporary exhibitions like *Kitchen and Banquet* are devised in order to exhibit all the material of one class.

In general, the sources of Mr. Walters' collection remain unknown. We know the details of one large purchase, the Massarenti Collection, from Marcello Massarenti, a priest who had collected in Rome in the closing years of the nineteenth century. Most of Massarenti's material came from excavations in the neighborhood of Rome. He housed his collection, which he was to sell to Mr. Wal-

ters in 1902, in the Accoramboni Palace near the Vatican. Some Etruscan bronze work, of the type which was not generally appreciated at the time but today is recognized as very fine, came to Baltimore from this collection. The remainder of the Walters Collection was Mr. Walters' personal selection over a period of many years.

Who used the pots and cups in this exhibition? Not just anyone and everyone. Metalware was scarce in Greek and Etruscan days, because metals were much scarcer and much more expensive than today. Most ancient cookery was done in pottery dishes over a low fire, and metal cooking vessels were comparatively rare. The very rare caldrons and water-jars of bronze were well-loved possessions; they were also considered important enough to be given as prizes at games, dedicated to the gods, or used as funeral urns. Among the cooking vessels which are included in this show is a pair of Etruscan bronze pots of the third century B. C. They are plain and ugly, and they do not stand evenly on the table, but they balance perfectly when filled and suspended from rings in their handles, as they used to be suspended over open fires. Banquet cups of silver and gold were used only by the wealthiest of the Greeks and Etruscans, while the common people used pottery cups of the kind which we call "Greek Vases." A family in moderate circumstances was likely to have a good



FIG. 2. SILVER WINE SERVICE. LADLE FOR FILLING CUPS, AND STRAINER FOR REMOVING SEDIMENT. THE TWO HANDLES OF THE STRAINER COULD REST ON THE RIM OF THE CUP. Greek, third century B.C.



FIG. 3. A CUP FOR MORTALS. MADE OF THIN BEATEN GOLD. FOR DECORATION, MYRIADS OF TINY SPHERES OF GOLD ARE ARRANGED IN PATTERNS AGAINST THE PLAIN BACKGROUND. ON THE HANDLES, FOUR SMALL SPHINXES. MADE FOR THE LUXURY-LOVING ETRUSCANS. Seventh century B.C. Walters Art Gallery.



FIG. 4. TWO-TONE CULINARIA, THEN AND NOW. THE ROMAN EXAMPLE IS BRONZE WITH SILVER LINING IN THE BOWL, EXTENDING PART WAY DOWN THE OUTSIDE. THE AMERICAN EXAMPLE IS CHROMIUM STEEL AND COPPER.

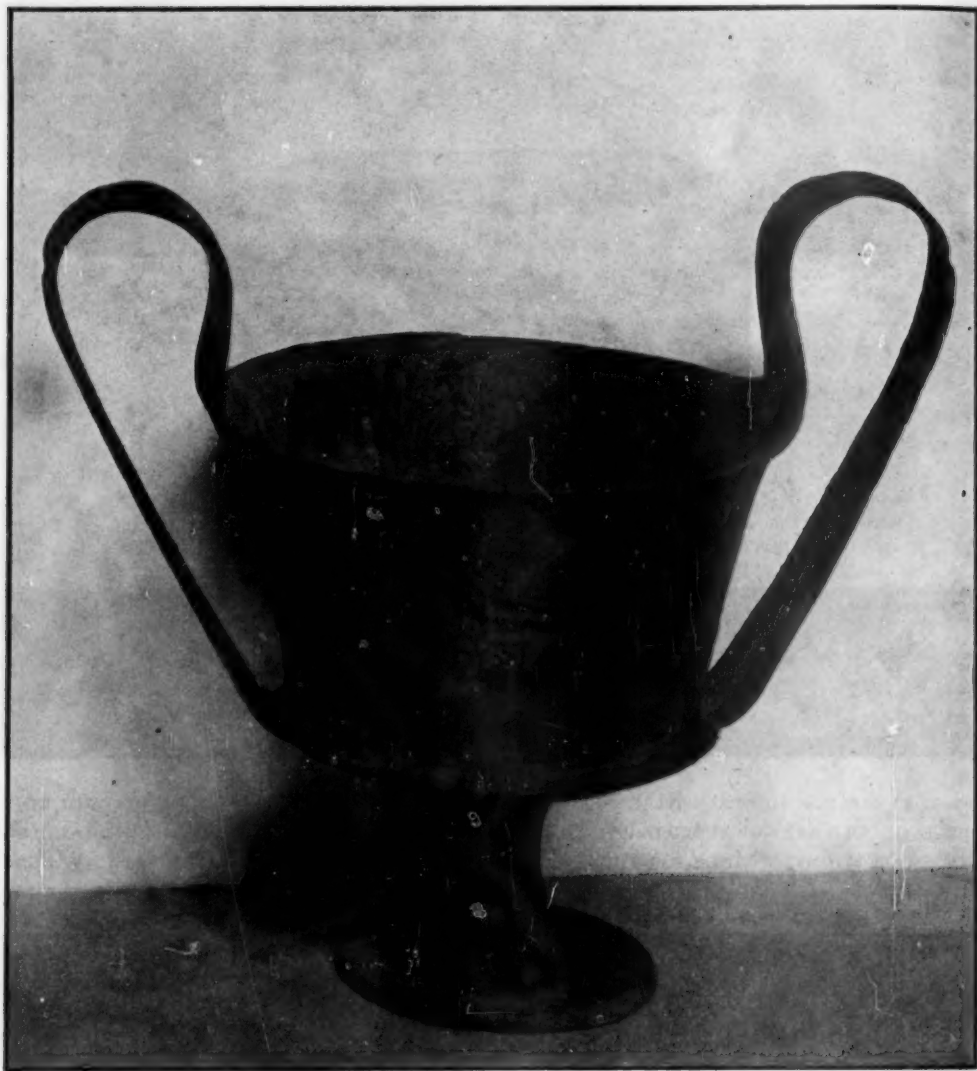


FIG. 5. A CUP FIT FOR A GOD. SILVER KANTHAROS, A WINE-CUP OF A TYPE PREFERRED BY DIONYSOS<sup>1</sup> ACCORDING TO GREEK ARTISTS, UNDOUBTEDLY SAW SERVICE AT A GREEK TABLE. *Greek, fifth century B.C. Walters Art Gallery.*

strainer and ladle of bronze or silver for serving wine.

By Roman times metals were cheaper. Banquet services in silver were quite common. Cicero wrote to his friend Atticus that he hated to buy pottery cups at Atticus' order; surely, he said, a Roman gentleman could have silver. Still, Martial, writing a century

after Cicero, made an epigram about the man who wanted to borrow a dish and a few vases (probably silver) to entertain an out-of-town guest. He valued the banquet ware at five times the cash loan which the man had previously tried to negotiate.

The Romans invented techniques for making bronze vessels by mass production. Al-



though they did not equal our rates of production, the number of duplicates of certain patterns of jugs and pans is really startling. By mass production, Roman manufacturers managed to put beautiful bronze oil jugs within the reach of poor families.

Many of the ancient metalware styles resemble those of today. Others are quite different. The most noticeable difference is in the ornamentation. The Greeks and their followers had a love for human and animal figures, and used them freely for decoration at points where they seem strange to us. Human figures as handles of pans, or sphinxes sitting on the shoulders of large kettles, change familiar bowl shapes into something

which to us is bizarre and wonderful. A favorite decorative motive is a head looking into a pitcher from the handle top. A ram's head, a beautifully modeled woman's head, and the head of a grinning, snub-nosed satyr, ornament three jug handles in the Walters exhibition.

The ancient vessels, or most of them, have changed their color since ancient days. Only the gold cups look just as they did originally. Silver has inevitably turned black. Bronze, instead of being reddish brown, has become green, or, in rare instances, blue. The colors of the bronze ware are sometimes very beautiful, and much more beautiful than the new bronze could have been.

---

#### Current Events

### JOHN W. SPAETH, JR., NEW PRESIDENT OF CANE

AT THE FORTY-SECOND annual meeting of the Classical Association of New England, held at Amherst College, Amherst, Massachusetts, April 2-3, 1948, the following persons were elected officers for 1948-49: *President*, John W. Spaeth, Jr., of Wesleyan University; *Vice-President*, Herbert N. Couch, of Brown University; *Secretary-Treasurer*, Van L. Johnson, of Tufts College; *additional members of the Executive Committee*, Miss Elizabeth C. Bridge of Winsor School, Boston; Edmund T. Silk of Yale University; W. Stuart Messner of Dartmouth College; and Miss Marion B. Steuerwald of the Belmont, Massachusetts, High School; *Representative on the Council of ACL*, Van L. Johnson, of Tufts College.

Upon the cordial invitation of Milton Academy, Milton, Massachusetts, it was voted to hold the forty-third annual meeting there on March 18-19, 1949.

The Amherst meeting opened with an address of welcome on behalf of Amherst College by Dean C. Scott Porter, with a response for the association by the president, Miss Cornelia C. Coulter. At the annual dinner, tendered by Amherst College, Professor John Erskine of Columbia University delivered an address on "The Cost of the Sabine Farm."

The following papers were delivered as part of the regular program: "A Report of Progress on the Corpus of Averroes' Commentaries," by Professor Francis H. Fobes of Amherst College; "Apollonius Rhodius and Vergil: Gods, Heroes, and Episodes," Mr. Norman Lowrie Hatch, Phillips Exeter Academy; "Ten Thousand Panoplies," Miss Dorothy Rounds, Arlington High School; "The Positive Beliefs of the Skeptic Carneades," Professor Edwin L. Minar, Jr., Connecticut College; "The Descent of the Toga" (illustrated), Professor Emmeline Hill, Wheaton College; "The Owl and the Olive Tree," Professor Norman O. Brown, Wesleyan University; "Plutarch and Tranquility of Mind," Professor Emily L. Shields, Smith College; "Intimations of Immortality in Horace," Professor G. L. Hendrickson, Yale University; "The School Greek Course," Dr. Allan S. Hoey, The Hotchkiss School; "Functional Latin—If at All," Miss Helen G. Kershaw, Melrose High School; "A Bouquet of Similes," Miss Marion B. Steuerwald, Belmont High School; "Cicero and His Devotion to Expediency," Rev. Paul F. Izzo, S.J., College of the Holy Cross; "A Greek Uncial Fragment in the Library of Congress" (illustrated), Professor Werner Jaeger, Harvard.

What man is truly happy?

## Croesus:

### From Herodotus to Boccaccio

Helen H. Law

**T**HROUGH Herodotus the story of Croesus has become one of the best known stories of antiquity, but in the centuries that have passed since then the tale has been told frequently and with many variations.<sup>1</sup>

THE ACCOUNT of Herodotus is too well known to need more than a brief summary. It may be divided into three chapters, each a unit in itself but all skillfully interwoven. The first chapter (1.29-33) consists of the famous conversation between Solon and Croesus as to the happiest man, in which Solon disappoints Croesus by putting Tellus, then Cleobis and Bito before him in happiness: Tellus, who died fighting for his country and Cleobis and Bito, who died in their sleep when their mother prayed that they be given the best thing for mortals as a reward for drawing her to the temple in an ox-cart. The second chapter (1.34-45) tells the tragic tale of the death of Croesus' son, Atys, killed accidentally by Adrastus, the man whom Croesus had befriended. This calamity came upon Croesus, according to Herodotus, perhaps because he considered himself the happiest of all men. The third chapter (1.85-89) gives the account of the fall of Croesus, which was caused by his attack on Cyrus after two years of mourning for his son. At the time of the capture of Sardis Croesus was saved from immediate death by his surviving son, who,

dumb from birth, broke into speech at this crisis. Later when Cyrus, relenting, tried in vain to extinguish the flames, Croesus was saved from the burning pyre by a sudden storm that came in answer to his prayer to Apollo. From that time on, Croesus was treated kindly by Cyrus and survived as a wise and trusted councillor through his reign into that of Cambyses (3.36). Herodotus explicitly states that he obtained this account of the fall of Croesus from the Lydians (1.87).

Xenophon shows familiarity with Herodotus' version of the story of Croesus in his account of the fall of Croesus in the *Cyropaedia* 7.1. There he alludes briefly to Croesus' dumb son and the death of Atys, but he does not mention the funeral-pyre. Whether he thought it true or not, he would not in any case have used it in a fictionized biography intended to glorify and idealize Cyrus. Instead he represents Cyrus as treating Croesus from the time of his capture in a friendly way. He asks for Croesus' advice and acts upon it and restores to him his wife and daughters and former household.

Ctesias, a contemporary of Xenophon, differs considerably from Herodotus in his account of Croesus' fall.<sup>2</sup> He lived for several years at the court of the Persian king and wrote a history of Persia, which has been preserved for us by the meagre epitome of Photius. Since this history was compiled from Persian sources and written in a deliberate attempt to correct erroneous Greek ideas about the Persians, it was probably as biased in favor of Cyrus as the tales told by the Lydians to Herodotus were biased in favor of Croesus. According to Ctesias the son of Croesus, given as a hostage to Cyrus before the city was taken, was killed by him because Croesus had used trickery in the negotia-

---

(Miss Law is Professor of Greek at Wellesley College. Her interests have been along the line of the influence of classical literature on modern. She has her A.B. and A.M. from Vassar College, and the Ph.D. from the University of Chicago. She began her teaching career at Meredith College in Raleigh, N. C.

In this paper Miss Law traces the story of Croesus and its variations through classical literature into the literature of the Renaissance.

---

tions. This accusation of trickery contrasts strikingly with the uncritical admiration which the Greeks and, presumably, the Lydians had for him. Then the wife of Croesus, learning of her son's death, threw herself from the walls. Since Herodotus does not mention the wife of Croesus, it may be supposed, considering his usual interest in women, that he thought of her as already dead at this time. Croesus himself was saved by a miracle, but not from a funeral-pyre, which does not appear. Instead he fled to the temple of Apollo and there, when he was captured and bound, his chains were three times miraculously loosened. When this happened again in the presence of Cyrus with accompanying thunder and lightning, he was released, honored by Cyrus and given the city Barene. This version, of course, like that of Xenophon, avoids anything that might reflect adversely upon the character of Cyrus. The only facts that Herodotus and Ctesias have in common are that Croesus was captured by Cyrus when Sardis fell and, as a result of a miracle associated with Apollo, freed and treated by him in a kindly way. The detail of a storm appears in both, but is used differently. One notes that these two accounts, compiled independently from quite different sources, agree that Croesus outlived the capture of Sardis in contrast to Bacchylides, who represents him as being transported to the land of the Hyperboreans at this time. The earlier date of Bacchylides' poem (468 B.C.) gives it a certain weight but, on the other hand, a poet may very well feel justified in treating the facts of history freely and imaginatively.<sup>3</sup>

### An Episodic Treatment

IN CONSIDERING the later treatment of the Croesus story it is convenient to treat each of the three episodes separately. There are many allusions to the conversation of Solon and Croesus.<sup>4</sup> Aristotle<sup>5</sup> refers to Solon's warning to look to the end and speaks with approval of Solon's concept of a happy man, though he does not say that these views were expressed in answer to the question of Croesus. Diodorus Siculus (9.26, 27) elaborates the

conversation and makes it more rhetorical by representing Croesus as questioning other wise men as well as Solon. Herodotus also says that other wise men visited Croesus but he confines his interest to Solon. Plutarch<sup>6</sup> relates the incident and commends Solon for not flattering Croesus. There are other brief allusions to the conversation, ranging from the time of Cicero to that of the rhetoricians of the fourth century.<sup>7</sup>

The story of Cleobis and Bito was especially popular in later literature. This may explain why Lucian in *Charon* 10 reverses the Herodotean order and represents Solon as giving first place in happiness to Cleobis and Bito and second place to Tellus. The tale is told in Cicero's *Tusculan Disputations* (1.113) to show what rhetoricians are accustomed to represent as the judgment of the gods in regard to death and by Valerius Maximus (5.4 Ext. 4) as an example of filial piety. It is used in the Pseudo-Platonic *Axiochus* 376c and in Plutarch's *Consolatio ad Apollonium* 14 to show that death may be a good and not an evil.<sup>8</sup>

### Cleobis and Bito

HYGINUS INCLUDES the story of Cleobis and Bito among his *Fabulae* (254). Except for the story of Arion, it is the only one of his tales not purely mythical but drawn from a historical source. Here we have Cleobis and Bito under the names of Cleops and Bitias put on an equal footing with such mythological heroes as Heracles and Jason. The mother, who was left anonymous by Herodotus, is called Cydippe by Hyginus, but uncertainty as to dates<sup>9</sup> makes it impossible to tell whether or not this is the first use of the name in extant literature. There are other details that differ from Herodotus. If the sacrifice was not carried out at the proper time, the priestess was killed. The youths drew their mother home also and died in their sleep at home instead of in the temple. Cydippe, recognizing the fact that death was better than life for mortals, killed herself after their death. Though the original source of the story is undoubtedly Herodotus, it may be that Hyginus used a source now lost to us which contained these details.<sup>10</sup>

A passage of Plutarch containing this story is quoted by Stobaeus.<sup>11</sup> Here too the youths are called the sons of Cydippe, though in other details this version follows Herodotus closely. Plutarch adds an epigram on this subject by an unnamed poet. The tale appears also in an epigram of the *Greek Anthology* (3.18), which it is not possible to date. It is one of nineteen epigrams describing scenes portrayed on the temple built by Attalus II and Eumenides II in honor of their mother at Cyzicus. The scenes represent mythical examples of filial piety. It is possible to date the temple in the second century B.C., but the epigrams are probably considerably later. Each is accompanied by a prose lemma describing the incidents in some detail. In this case the lemma tells the Herodotean story accurately, while the epigram only praises the piety of the youths in general terms. Both the epigram and the lemma call the mother Cydippe.<sup>12</sup>

Philargius in the fourth century A.D. (on *Georg.* 3.552) also calls the priestess Cydippe. Servius on the same passage explains further that the oxen were not on hand because of a pestilence. In his version Juno tells the priestess to ask what she wishes for her sons. The rest of the story is as in Herodotus, whom Servius quotes as his source. The changes are such as anyone might add who wished to amplify or elucidate the tale. There are other allusions to the story or brief summaries which show that it was widely known but do not add any new details.<sup>13</sup>

Popular as the Cleobis-Bito story was, Ausonius substituted another story for it.<sup>14</sup> In his account Solon tells Croesus that Telles (Tellus) was the happiest man and Aglaus the next happiest. The story of Aglaus is told first in extant literature by Valerius Maximus (7.1.2) in a discussion of happiness. When Gyges asked the Delphic oracle whether anyone was happier than he, he was told that Aglaus was happier. Aglaus was an old man living at Psophis in Arcadia, who tilled a farm, small but sufficient for his needs, and never went beyond its borders. Pliny<sup>15</sup> told the same story, citing it as an example of a Delphic oracle rebuking the vanity of man.

Pausanias (8.24.13) makes Aglaus a contemporary of Croesus, not Gyges, but he has doubts about the story. "The tradition that I have heard at Psophis about Aglaus, a native of that place who was a contemporary of the Lydian Croesus, that he was happy all his life, I cannot believe." It is not likely, he thinks, that however happy a man might be, his happiness should continue uninterrupted all his life. Ausonius is, apparently, the only writer who makes the story a part of the Solon-Croesus conversation.<sup>16</sup>

The First Vatican Mythographer, writing probably in the fifth century A.D., includes the story of Cleobis and Bito in his collection of myths, thus following Hyginus in removing it definitely from the field of history to that of myth. His source is clearly Servius, whom he quotes word for word. The Second Vatican Mythographer takes over the version of the first with only a few verbal changes.

### The Death of Atys

THE STORY of the tragic death of Atys has, strangely enough, impressed ancient writers less than some other details of the story, if one may judge by later references.<sup>17</sup> It is briefly related by Diodorus Siculus (9.29) and told at some length by Valerius Maximus (1.7 Ext. 4), who brings it into a discussion of dreams. Atys is represented as being killed by one to whom the guardianship of the youth had been intrusted, but he does not bring out the fact that this is the man whom Croesus had befriended. Lucian<sup>18</sup> in a discussion of Fate represents the Cynic as saying, "Are you going to tell me that a man who learns that he is going to die by an iron spear-point can escape death by shutting himself up? It is impossible. Fate will take him out hunting and will give him over to the spear-point. Adrastus will hurl his weapon at the boar, miss him and hit Croesus' son, as if the spear were directed by the command of the Fates." Hermogenes,<sup>19</sup> in showing that confession of guilt appeases anger and is a good defense, refers to this incident and compares it with the episode of Helen and the old men of Troy in the *Iliad*. He points out the similarity between the answer of Croesus



when Adrastus accuses himself and that of Priam to Helen (3.164). Basil comments on the clemency of Croesus towards the slayer of his son.<sup>20</sup>

As to the later use of the third episode of the Croesus story, the fall of Croesus, naturally the account of Herodotus prevailed over that of Ctesias. This was partly because of the greater fame of Herodotus and partly because his story is in itself more colorful and dramatic. Usually later writers toned down somewhat the miracle by which he was saved or omitted it altogether. Diodorus Siculus 9.34, for instance, says that Cyrus thought Croesus endowed with the greatest piety because a rain had extinguished the fire, but it is not stated that the rain is a direct answer of his prayer to Apollo. Plutarch rationalizes the story by omitting the marvel of the rain entirely, thus giving full credit for the saving of Croesus to Solon.<sup>21</sup>

### *Influence of Zoroaster*

NICOLAUS OF DAMASCUS in the first century B.C. wrote a long, detailed account of the fall of Croesus (frg. 68), differing in many points from previous writers. He represents Cyrus as wishing to save Croesus from the first but yielding to the Persians, who insist on his death. When Croesus has been led out to the funeral-pyre amid the laments of the people, his son, who has recovered his speech, is brought to him. He begs to be allowed to die with him but his father urges him to live. The Sibyl warns the Persians not to kill Croesus but she is not heeded. Then Croesus prays to Apollo and the rain comes, not from a clear sky, however, as in Herodotus. Nicolaus softens the marvel by saying that the sky had been overcast all day and at this moment the clouds become thicker and the rain falls. Then the Persians, moved by Cyrus' grief as well as the warning of the Sibyl and the logia of Zoroaster, relent and allow Croesus to be saved. From that time on they begin to observe the logia of Zoroaster, previously neglected. The discrepancies between this account and that of Herodotus are pronounced enough to suggest that Nicolaus used the account of Xanthus now lost

as his main source or, at least, for some details. Although the fall of Croesus does not appear in the extant fragments, without doubt, it was included in the history of Lydia by this older contemporary of Herodotus. However, it seems more likely to me that Nicolaus used Herodotus as his main source and that the changes and additions are such as a writer of this period might make on his own initiative. The conversation between Croesus and his son is rhetorical and more in the spirit of the first century than of an earlier period. I doubt whether a fifth-century writer would have represented Cyrus as yielding to the will of the Persians instead of carrying out his own decision as an absolute ruler. The fact that there is no other mention of Zoroaster before the first century<sup>22</sup> is further evidence that this detail, at least, was not taken from Xanthus.

The brief summary given by Justin of the history of Pompeius Trogus, also written in the first century B.C., gives some indication that he may have used both Herodotus and Ctesias. He says (1.7) that the leniency shown by Cyrus to Croesus in granting him part of his hereditary possessions, the city Beroe and,<sup>23</sup> though not the life of a king, one not much inferior to it, was not less advantageous to the conqueror than to the conquered, for when it was known that war was made upon Croesus, auxiliaries flocked to him from Greece. He thinks that Croesus was so popular in the Greek world that Cyrus would have incurred a war with all Greece, if he had treated Croesus severely. The emphasis on the popularity of Croesus among the Greeks is quite different from the antagonism towards him shown by Ctesias and more in the spirit of Herodotus. Yet the mention of a specific city granted him suggests Ctesias and the name of the city Beroe is suspiciously like Ctesias' Barene.

### *Rain from Heaven*

OMITTING OTHER BRIEF references to the fall of Croesus from Seneca<sup>24</sup> to Libanius, one may note in the fifth century A.D. the passage of Boethius (2.2) which says that Croesus was saved from the funeral-pyre by rain sent



from heaven. The version given by the First Vatican Mythographer about the same time is very different. He includes the story of the fall of Croesus among his myths (1.196) as well as the story of Cleobis and Bito and tells it with some curious variations not found earlier. When Croesus was placed upon the funeral pyre, a storm suddenly rose which extinguished the fire, and Croesus found an opportunity to escape. One notes that there is no suggestion that the storm came in answer to prayer or that there was anything miraculous in his escape. It was after this, when Croesus was rejoicing and boasting of his great wealth, that, according to this version, Solon warned him that one never knows what a day may bring forth. That very night he had a dream in which Jupiter wet him with water and the sun dried him. His daughter, Phania, interpreted the dream as meaning that he was to be fastened to a cross, wet by the rain and dried by the sun. This dream was fulfilled when he was again captured by Cyrus and fastened to a cross. Here we have a very definite change from the earlier account. Croesus escapes the first time, but is again captured and put to death in a different way. The story of the dream is given by Herodotus (3.124-125), not as related to Croesus but to Polycrates. The daughter of Polycrates (not named) dreams that her father is hanging in mid-air, bathed by Zeus and anointed by the sun. She warns him but he ignores her warning and the dream is fulfilled when he is captured and hanged, thus being bathed by Zeus when it rains and anointed by the sun with perspiration from his own body. There are differences, as in Herodotus the daughter rather than the father has the dream and the sun anoints rather than dries the king, but it is essentially the same story. The transfer of the story from Polycrates, who was likewise wealthy and powerful and also met a bad end, to Croesus is a natural one, helped out probably by the fact that both stories come from Herodotus. Whether it was the Vatican Mythographer who made the fusion and gave the daughter a name or whether he found it in a lost source, we do not, of course, know.

### The Dumb Son

THE WAY IN WHICH the dumb son of Croesus recovered his speech has especially interested several writers. Valerius Maximus uses the anecdote in his discussion *De Pietate erga Parentes* (5.4 Ext. 6). It is told briefly by Aulus Gellius (5.9), who quotes directly from Herodotus. Maximus of Tyre, confusing the two sons of Croesus, contrasts the blindness of Homer with the deafness of Atys.<sup>25</sup> The emphasis of Herodotus throughout the story, it may be noted, is on the fact that the youth could not speak, not that he could not hear, though he does say in one passage that he was both deaf and dumb. Solinus (1.112) also calls the dumb son Atys in his version of the story. Libanius<sup>26</sup> rather misses the point of the miraculous recovery when he says, "All other men are more talkative in misfortune and they say that the son of Croesus, being dumb, broke into speech at the misfortune of his father."<sup>27</sup>

After a silence of several centuries the Croesus story was revived in the twelfth century by Tzetzes in Byzantium and in the thirteenth century in the famous *Romance of the Rose* in France. It is interesting to see how different the two versions are. Tzetzes begins his *Chiliades* with the story of Croesus told in a passage of about a hundred verses. He gives the conversation of Solon and Croesus, raising Tellus to the rank of a general and explaining that the reason why Cydippe had to ride to the temple was that she was ill. He omits the Atys story, but relates the fall of Croesus briefly, leaving out the miracle of the storm. He says only that Croesus, when he was captured by Cyrus and led to the funeral-pyre, uttered the name of Solon three times and then, after Cyrus heard the whole story, was released from the pyre. He gives Herodotus as his source, but adds that Xenophon, on the other hand, says that he suffered nothing unpleasant from Cyrus. He refers also to Ctesias' treatment of the subject. Since he uses the name Cydippe for the priestess, he must have had some other unnamed source as well. In general, his sources are early and good and he adds only a few explanatory details.

### Romance of the Rose

JEAN DE MEUN, on the other hand, has clearly used as his source only the late Latin version of the First Vatican Mythographer in his *Romance of the Rose* (6857-6996). Here, too, Croesus is saved from the funeral-pyre and again becomes king. He dreams that he is set high on a beech-tree, washed by Jupiter and dried with a towel by Apollo. The mythographer says simply "Sol extingueret." As in the earlier version, his daughter, Phania, interprets the dream, but in this poem she makes a long speech of about fifty lines, moralizing on the vicissitudes of Fortune and warning her father as to his pride. He answers at some length, scorning her warning. The dream is fulfilled as in the Mythographer.

Chaucer not only translated the *Romance of the Rose* but also used it for his account of Croesus in the *Monkes Tale* (3917-3956). He follows this version closely, translating some lines directly, but he cuts it down to about a third by omitting the moralizing of Phania and Croesus' last speech. The reference to the capture of Croesus by Cyrus, not found in the *Romance of the Rose*, probably comes from Boethius 2.2. Chaucer has one other brief allusion to the captured Croesus.<sup>28</sup>

Boccaccio, as might be expected, used the story of Croesus in "De Casibus Virorum Illustrium" 2.22. His version is fairly close to the Herodotean tradition in contrast to that of the Vatican Mythographer and the *Romance of the Rose* and yet Herodotus was not one of the Greek authors whom Boccaccio read in the original and a translation was not yet available. A study of his account shows that he was not indebted to Herodotus directly but to three Latin writers, Valerius Maximus, Justin and Boethius. He evidently used two different passages of Valerius Maximus. This can be shown by the fact that, although Boccaccio was usually careful not to transcribe a passage word for word, he did keep fairly close to the original and often used synonymous expressions. For instance, Valerius says that Atyis was killed by one "cui tutela filii a patre mandata erat" (1.7, Ext. 4), and Boccaccio "cui Atyi fuerat

commissa custodia." Neither indicates that this was the man whom Croesus had befriended. The parallel in the account of Croesus' dumb son between Boccaccio and another passage of Valerius Maximus is even more striking (5.4 Ext., 6). Valerius says "velut oblitus quid sibi nascenti fortuna dene-gasset ne Croesum regem occideret proclamando" and Boccaccio "e linguis filius qui suae sortis oblitus emissa voce iussit ne Croesum regem occideret." Again Valerius says "paene iam impressum mucronem revocavit" and Boccaccio "quem iam gutturi pressurus cultrum erat retraxit." Boccaccio's brief account of the rescue of Croesus from the pyre does not refer to the warning of Solon. The fire is put out by a sudden rain and Cyrus, either moved by "dei beneficentia" or because he thought that the Greeks would oppose him for Croesus' sake, spares his life and also restores to him his paternal fields and allows him to live as a private citizen in his fatherland. This seems to be taken from Justin's epitome of Pompeius Trogus, who describes the concessions made by Cyrus as follows: "Croeso et vita et patrimonii partes et urbs Beroe concessa in qua etsi non regiam vitam, proximam tamen maiestati regiae degeret." The second motive for clemency given by Boccaccio "seu quod ob gratiam Croesi Graeciam omnem in se armari sentiret" may be compared with Justin's "Quippe ex universa Graecia, cognito quod inlatum Croeso bellum esset, auxilia . . . confluebant, tantus Croesi amor apud omnes urbes erat." This love of the Greeks for Croesus is also brought out by Boccaccio in the beginning of his account. Since neither Valerius Maximus nor Justin mentions the saving of Croesus from the pyre by the rain, one must look for still another source for this part of Boccaccio's version. I think that it was probably Boethius (2.2). Both describe the incident briefly without mentioning Solon's warning and Boccaccio's phrase "in maximum ignem fuisse deiectum" may come from Boethius "rogi flammis traditum." All three writers, Valerius Maximus, Justin and Boethius, were, without doubt, known to Boccaccio.<sup>29</sup>

This work of Boccaccio had considerable

influence on later literature, not only in its own right, but through the English paraphrase by Lydgate 2.3537-3731, written 1431-1438. This version was not made directly from Boccaccio but from the free and considerably amplified version of Laurent de Premierfait, written 1355-1361 and entitled *De Nobles Malheureux*. Lydgate follows Laurent closely with only slight changes. It was not until the sixteenth century that the original Herodotean story came to be available in English, first in 1566 through Painter's paraphrase,<sup>30</sup> which omits the Atys story and the miracle of the storm, and then, in 1584 in a free prose translation of the first two books of Herodotus by B. R.<sup>31</sup>

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> For the literary use of the tale see especially P. Soedel *De Fabellis ad Croesum Pertinentibus Quaestiones Selectae* (Göttingen, 1911) and F. Hellman, "Herodots Kroisos-logos," *Neue Phil. Unter.* (Berlin, 1934).

<sup>2</sup> Frg. 4 in the abridgment of Photius.

<sup>3</sup> In Bacchylides' poem (III) Croesus mounts the funeral-pyre voluntarily. In answer to his prayer a storm puts out the fire and Apollo carries him off. A vase-painting dated about 500 B.C. also represents him as sacrificing himself on a funeral-pyre, but it does not preclude the possibility that his attempt at suicide was thwarted. Cf. A. Baumeister, *Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums*, 2 (Munich, 1885) 796, fig. 860.

<sup>4</sup> For this episode see R. Schubert, *De Croeso et Solone Fabula* (Königsberg, 1868).

<sup>5</sup> *Eudemian Ethics*, 1219b; *Nicomachean Ethics*, 1100a, 1179a.

<sup>6</sup> *Solon*, 27; "How to tell a flatterer from a friend," 15, 29; "Banquet of the Seven Wise Men," 12.

<sup>7</sup> Cicero, *De Fin.*, 3.76; Juvenal, 10.274; Ausonius, *Ludus Septem Sapientium*, 58.83-107; Diog. Laert., *Solon*, 50; Julian, *Misopogon*, 342; Libanius, *Orat.*, 18.74; Maximus of Tyre, 34.5; Tertullian, *Apol.*, 19.1; Clement, *Strom.*, 3.3; Themestius, *Orat.*, 18.221.

<sup>8</sup> This story is frequently coupled with that of Trophonius and Agametes who, when they had built a temple for Apollo and asked for a reward, were told that they would receive their reward on the seventh day. On that day they went to sleep in the temple and never rose again. See references cited above.

<sup>9</sup> It is generally agreed today that this is not the Hyginus who was a slave of Augustus and the head of the Palatine library. His latest editor thinks that he

lived between 50 and 207 A.D., probably under the Antonines. Cf. H. Rose, *Hygini Fabulae* (London, 1934). If he is right there is an earlier use of the name by Dio Chrysostom 64.6. "Let Tellus look upon his children and Cydippe and Aeolus and if any other was a happy father." See also epigrams below.

<sup>10</sup> Rose (*op. cit.* VIII-XI) thinks that he used a Greek collection of myths now lost.

<sup>11</sup> *Florilegium*, 120.23.

<sup>12</sup> For the dating of the epigrams and the probable relation of the prose versions to the epigrams see P. Waltz, *Anthologie Grecque*, (Paris, 1928) 1, 83-90.

<sup>13</sup> Palaephatus, *Περὶ ἀπορών*, 51, p. 309 (Westermann); Polybius, 22.20; Sextus Empiricus, *Pyrh. Hypotyp.* 3.231; Clement, *Strom.*, 3.3; Chorikios, In *Epithaph. Procopii*, 20. See also Dutschke, "Kloebis und Bito," *Arch-epig. Mitt. aus Österreich*, 7 (Vienna, 1883), 153-167.

<sup>14</sup> *Ludus Septem Sapientium*, 91-105.

<sup>15</sup> *Nat. Hist.*, 7.151.

<sup>16</sup> Solinus 1.127 also tells the story of Aglaüs. Like Valerius Maximus, he brings it into a discussion of felicitas.

<sup>17</sup> See A. Baumeister, *De Atye et Adrasto* (Leipzig, 1860).

<sup>18</sup> *Zeus Cross-examined*, 12.

<sup>19</sup> *Περὶ μεθόδου δεινότητος*, 32.

<sup>20</sup> *Letters*, 112.

<sup>21</sup> *Solon*, 28.

<sup>22</sup> Except for the Pseudo-Platonic Alcibiades I the date of which is uncertain. See A. V. W. Jackson, *Zoroaster Prophet of Iran* (London, 1898), 232. For a discussion of the probable relation of Nicolaus to Xanthus see L. Pearson, *Early Ionian Historians* (Oxford 1939).

<sup>23</sup> Reading of the most recent text, that of Ruehl and Seel (Leipzig, 1935).

<sup>24</sup> *De Tranquill.*, 11.12; *Epist.* 47.12; Dio Chrysa., 10.26, *De Fortuna*, 64.27; Appian, *Punic Wars*, 28; Maximus of Tyre, 32.9; Lucian, *Charon*, 13; Basil, *Letters*, 112; Libanius, *Orat.* 60.9. Ptolemaios Hephaestion wrote *Περὶ τῆς Κροίσου ἐν τῇ πυρᾷ σωτηρίας*, according to Photius (Bekker 190).

<sup>25</sup> *Dissert.*, 40.6.

<sup>26</sup> *De Socratis Silentio*, 21.

<sup>27</sup> The dumb son is used quite differently by Nicolaus. See above.

<sup>28</sup> *Knight's Tale*, 1946.

<sup>29</sup> A. Hortis, *Studi sulle Opere Latine del Boccaccio* (Trieste, 1879).

<sup>30</sup> *Palace of Pleasure*, 1.7.

<sup>31</sup> Sometimes identified as Barnaby Rich but Whibley thinks it impossible to identify him. His translation was probably made not directly from Herodotus but from Valla's Latin translation. See Whibley's introduction to B.R.'s translation (London, 1924).

Life in the fourth century B.C.  
as imagined in the letters of Alciphron

## Athenians at Home

Elizabeth Hazelton Haight

The fictitious letter has an interesting history in classical literature. The poem-letter developed as a genre long before the letter in prose. In Latin it appeared first as an inset in comedy, then as a separate form in lyric poetry. Catullus wrote a short poem-letter (38) to a friend asking him for a letter of consolation on his illness and a long elegiac poem (68) to another friend. Sulpicia, the patrician poetess, wrote tiny lyric love letters; Propertius wrote real lyric letters to his Cynthia, a fictitious love letter from a Roman wife to her husband at war

(4. 3), and a letter from a dead wife Cornelia to her living husband (4. 11). These poem-letters, which were generally fictitious, fostered the development of the poetic letter as a literary genre. The consummation of that form was achieved by Horace in his publication of his first book of Epistles (20 B.C.) and later by Ovid in his *Heroides*, the love letters of mythological heroines. Horace in his second book of Epistles and Ovid in his *Epistolae ex Ponto* further developed this genus of the letter in poetry.

THE FICTITIOUS letter in prose was presently to appear in Greek literature, first as a means of developing the plots of the Greek Romances. In the earliest of them, Chariton's *Chaereas and Callirhoe* (written before 150 A.D.), seven letters are introduced, ranging from laconic business letters to love letters. In all the extant Greek Romances, imaginary letters, quoted as actual documents, figure largely. It is significant that in

the second century A.D., when the Greek Romances were becoming a popular form of literature, a collection of fictitious prose letters in Greek was published which was the predecessor of the novel in complete letter form. The writer of this collection was Alciphron.

Little is known about Alciphron beyond his name and probable period. Of him F. A. Wright says that he "is the most illustrious of the Epistolographers, the writers of imaginary Epistles, whose works in Hercher's great edition run to nearly eight hundred pages, sixteen hundred letters of sixty different authors."<sup>1</sup>

Alciphron himself is the author of 118 letters and six fragments. Eustathius called him "the Atticist,"<sup>2</sup> and he certainly knew Athens well, for the life which he pictures is the life of Athens and of the coast and country near. Though he may have been a younger contemporary of Lucian, the period which he represented is that of the fourth century B.C., the time of Menander, the famous comic poet. Indeed, he writes letters for a number of the famous courtesans of Menander's age; and other contemporaries

(Elizabeth Hazelton Haight will be remembered as the author of "The Tale of Troy: An Early Romantic Approach" in *CJ* for February 1947 (42. 3. 261-269). Miss Haight is a graduate of Vassar, and holds the Ph.D. degree from Cornell University. From 1923 until her retirement, she was Chairman of the Department of Latin at Vassar.

Miss Haight has published many books, essays, and articles, both specialized and interpretative, on various aspects of ancient literature; but she is best known, perhaps, for her work on Greek and Roman fiction of a "romantic" nature, i.e. involving a love interest. This field of study involves many authors not customarily read in college or graduate work and deals with human experiences and life not on the political or epic level. Miss Haight has accordingly been able to make rich contributions to our understanding of classical civilization as a whole.



of Menander appear in his pages, the great kings and warriors, Demetrius Poliorcetes and Ptolemy of Egypt, the orators Hyperides and Lysias, the sculptor Praxiteles, the writers of comedy Philemon and Menander, the philosopher Epicurus, the money-lender Pasion, as well as the most famous hetaerae, Phryne and Glycera. In this small volume from his hand, no plot is developed by the letters, and they show no continuity. For the most part they are written as separate epistles, though sometimes a letter receives an answer, and, rarely, a group of three is presented. They are so brief that they can hardly be called character sketches; at the most, they are only thumb-nail sketches, or snapshots from a very candid camera. Yet together they build up a picture of life in and around Athens in the fourth century before Christ. From subject matter the letters fall naturally into four groups: letters of fishermen, of farmers, of parasites, and of courtesans.

### *The Fisherman's Life*

IN THE COUNTRY letters, certain important elements appear and reappear: the weather, the occupations, the members of the family, the neighbors, trips to the city. But the weather may be the fisherman's worst enemy or best friend. A three day's storm may be followed by a halcyon day when the fisherman makes a great haul, enough fish to sell and enough to feed wife and children. But the work is hard, night and day; for the fisherman caught in a storm there is only "one slender plank between yourself and doom."<sup>3</sup> One fisherman appeals to his wife to leave the sea with him and make a living on the land. But another declares that to the fisherman the land is death: he can no more breathe on it than can a fish. There are queer hauls sometimes. Once a throw of the net pulled up a rotting camel. But another throw made a rich catch of gold coins, perhaps lost at the battle of Salamis. Now the mean fisherman who became rich from that find is trying to lure away his neighbor's servants by bribes!

Fishermen, like all men, have money troubles. One writes: "There was a chance of a good catch, but my net was broken. I had

to mortgage my boat to a deceitful old money-lender to get cash for repairs. On the day of payment he claimed the whole sum and interest, and would not allow me time. I had to sell the gold necklace I had given my wife to pay him all."

Good luck, however, sometimes befell the man of the sea! One day some city youths wanted to entertain on the water and hired a fisherman's boat to sail along the coast! The young Athenians spread rugs and blankets on the planks, had a sail stretched above for shade, then brought on a gay party of lads and music girls. The boat was full of piping and strumming and singing; everything was gay. The fisherman was amazed at their extravagance and frivolity, but all the other fishermen were jealous of him and he made a good round sum.

Many letters to and from the fishermen's women picture the psychology of wives, daughters and courtesans. Brief paraphrases may convey their flavor.

A fisherman to his wife: "Why leave the seashore and your spinning to go to Athens for the festivals? 'That is neither virtuous living nor honest thinking.' Your father of Aegina did not bring you up to act like this."

A wife to her husband: "I came to you from a good family, with a goodly marriage portion. You are forgetting me and the children and running after a courtesan! You don't give her just fish, but veils, dresses, gold, though you are an old married man and the father of big children. Stop it, or I'll go back to father and he will bring a lawsuit against you."

Sometimes a fisherman asks advice from his wife: shall he keep on with this hard, honest toil of the sea, or join the pirates and, stopping not even at murder, make quick money? Or again one writes: "War is coming. Shall I stay and get drafted for a warship and die at sea, or shirk service, be a runaway, and live for my wife and children?"

More personal problems appear in an exchange of letters between mother and daughter.

A fisherman's daughter to her mother:<sup>4</sup>

"I cannot contain myself, Mother; I cannot en-



ture now to marry that stripling from Methymna, the pilot's son, who my father told me the other day was to be my husband. I have seen someone else, a youth at Athens who was carrying the vine branch in the procession on the day you sent me to the city to watch the festival. He is beautiful, mother; so beautiful and such a darling. His curls are more crisp than hazel blossoms, his smile is more charming than the summer sea. When he looks at you his eyes gleam with a dark radiance, even as the ocean gleams beneath the rays of the sun. And his whole face!—You would say that on his cheeks dance all the Graces from Orchomenus, after they have bathed in the Argaphian spring. As for his lips, he has filched the roses from Aphrodite's bosom and made them bloom again upon their surface. Either I marry him, or else like Sappho of Lesbos I will fling myself, not from the cliffs of Leucas, but from the piers of the Piraeus into the foam."

#### Mother to daughter:

"You are mad, my dear girl; quite out of your mind. What you need is a draught of good hellebore from Anticyra. You ought to show a maiden's modesty; but you have banished all shame from your cheeks. Get some control over yourself and scourge the mischief out of your heart. If your father were to hear of it, he will not hesitate to argue; he will throw you into the sea for the fish to devour."

The fisherman has his troubles with his neighbors as well as with his family. With one kind friend a man exchanges gifts: "I gave you fish; now please give me a pair of oars, for mine are broken. Exchange between friends is fair." But another finds that an old meany will not let him use a net which he abandoned four years before on the beach at Sunium. There certainly are all sorts of trials in the life of a fisherman, and, if he endeavors to forget his sorrows with a gay little girl in the city, his wife is right after him. Yet what fisherman would wish to be a farmer?

#### Life on the Land

IN THE LETTERS of the farmers, many hardships appear, but they are outweighed by the joys of life on the land. One man complains that hail has ruined his crops, another that the God of Rain has not heeded prayers or sacrifices. At another time a farmer had just

dug the round holes to plant his young olives when a rain of three days and nights destroyed all his labor. And not only the weather torments the farmer but disasters befall his beasts. A wolf steals the best she-goat. A puppy is lamed while hunting a hare. Another dog is caught in a trap set for a fox. This last episode will so enrage the master on his next visit that the farmer decides to run away to escape punishment.

Yet the pleasures of farming overbalance these trials. One man describes the joy of lifting out the new honeycombs from the hives under the cliffs and offering one to the gods and sending one to a friend. Another in winter in a heavy snow caught fine fat birds by smearing the branches of his pear-trees with birdlime. He proudly sends twenty-five of them to a good neighbor. Another has a large litter of pigs (oh! how they grunt!); so he sends two to a neighbor, for he cannot feed so many and it is courtesy to share wealth with friends. At sheep-shearing time a farmer gives away the poorer fleeces, and saves the best for his wife, to make winter garments for the family. Perhaps greatest of all joys is tending the goats on the hillside. Theocritus might have written the letter describing how under a pine-tree the shepherd piped on his flute until the goats ceased munching the asphodel and stood around him to listen.

The household is composed of slaves, wife, sons, and daughters, and in the offing are neighbors; and, on trips to town to sell farm produce, there is the menace of the naughty city girls. Slaves are a problem. One sleeps all the time. Another eats as much as three diggers. And another secretly sells off the goats and spends his gains on music girls.

#### Good Neighbors

THE FARMER could not live without his neighbors. He asks one for grain for planting when his own crop is ruined. He asks another for a loan of baskets to gather the grapes at time of vintage. And when he celebrates his son's birthday, he must give his nearest neighbor an invitation to dinner.<sup>5</sup>

"I am going to celebrate my son's birthday and I invite you now, friend Barrel, to dinner. Come

yourself and bring your wife and your children and your hired man: yes, and bring your dog too, if you like; he is a good watchman and with his deep barking frightens off any one who has designs on the flock. He will be an honoured guest. We intend to have a merry party; we shall drink till we are half seas over, and when we have had enough we shall try a song or two; then anyone who can dance a hornpipe will come forward and amuse the company. Do not be late, friend. In a votive feast like this it is only right to sit down to dinner early."

In family relations, the city nearly threatens ruin as it did to the fishermen. One farmer reproaches his wife for neglecting their marriage bed and her children; for deserting the country deities, Pan and the Nymphs, to worship city gods, Aphrodite and Genetyllis; for aping town ladies in making up her face. In short her husband writes: "Yours is neither virtuous living, wife, nor sensible thinking." A companion piece to this is a letter of reproach from a farmer's wife to her husband:<sup>6</sup> "Rivers will flow backwards! You, a grandfather, have fallen in love with a music girl! I am angry and heartbroken. I have lived with you thirty years. You give her all the food from our land. The young men are all laughing at you. It is simply a scandal."

### *"How're You Goin' to Keep 'em Down on the Farm?"*

FATHERS and mothers both try to keep their children at home. After the sheep-shearing, a farmer wrote his wife: "I am sending you the best fleeces for our winter garments. Let daughter help the maids weave: then when she marries, she will not disgrace us. 'Women who love their wool work and worship the goddess of industry spend their days in virtue and orderly living.'" Some daughters, however, go modern and try to free their mothers also from the routine of the farm. A daughter in Athens writes: "Mother, do come to the city once before you die for the sake of my brothers and me. You must attend the Festivals, see the beatiful sights here, and have a taste of town pleasures. Don't go on living just like a beast on the farm.

I have to be frank with you for your own good."

Sons and daughters both break away from the farm: one letter is written by an adolescent lad who begs a friend to take him on his next journey to town so that he may learn how city life differs from the country. He is growing his first beard and is ready to be initiated into its mysteries. Fathers were almost as afraid that philosophers would get hold of their sons as music girls! "Imitate your father, lad, and don't go near the Academy. Those students and professors cannot do anything practical. Devote yourself to the farm. Then hard work will bring you the reward of good country food, and flowing home-made wine." Another sorrowful parent writes a friend the tragedy of how his son has become a Cynic dog, hair all unkempt, dirty, barefoot, his equipment a short cloak, wallet and staff. He scorns the farm-work and his parents; says that 'the cause of birth is not a father and mother but rather a combination of atoms.' Philosophers ought to be jailed for corrupting young men. A mother worries rather over her son wishing to become a soldier: he prefers to farming a crested helmet and a shield and a life of danger. She wishes he would come home to help his parents cut the corn, press the grapes for wine, fill the pails with goats' milk and be the comfort of their old age.

And father satirizes the braggart soldier home from his wars:<sup>7</sup>

"He was a bore, that soldier, a dreadful bore. He got here late in the afternoon and blew indeuce take him—to my house. He began at once to weary us with his long tales and he never stopped. Talk about platoons and companies and spears and catapults and mantlets! And now it was how he had put the Thracians to flight, bringing their leader down with his javelin; now how he had run the Armenian chief through with his pike and killed him; and with it all he continually dragged in the prisoners he had taken and made parade of the women who, said he, were given him by the generals from the spoil as a special prize of valour. I filled him a good big mug and handed it to him as medicine for his silly nonsense, and he drank it up and more besides and stronger. But nothing stopped his drivell."

The farmer and his wife have their worries, but on the whole, in spite of some lapses from virtue on trips to the city and constant anxieties about the weather, the slaves, and the children, the farmer's life is a goodly life.

### *The Parasite's Life*

Nor so the parasite's. The letters from these city hangers-on show venal, scheming, crafty fellows who live to eat and make their living by attempts at being amusing. No dinner can be complete without the parasites, for they furnish the entertainment, telling jokes, singing songs, dancing, even acting plays. But they have to suffer every sort of indignity, cuffing, drenching with boiling soup, being stuffed with food and wine until only a doctor can save the little life left. Often the returns are meagre, the food sometimes only pea soup instead of the sturgeon and wine of the rich. Then the presents hoped for at the time of the Saturnalia may turn out to be only a pair of shoes instead of the desired warm cloak. But if a fellow gets no dinner invitation, he must live on grass and water and get warm by huddling near the furnace in the bath-house. Naturally enough one ekes out a living by stealing: now food from the kitchen, now a fine linen napkin when the guests are all drunk and oblivious, now a silver cup, easily sold to a sea captain at the harbor. Sometimes a parasite tries to ingratiate himself with his patron by informing on the amours of the patron's wife. One parasite is a panderer, teaching his girl to hold off her rich lover and bring to himself all the presents her patron bestows on her.

But at best the parasite's life is a poor life: he is often hungry and cold; he thinks of turning farmer, or actor, or a bandit near the Scironian Rocks. One declares he has positively decided to hang himself, but he must have one good dinner first at the wedding of Charito and Leocrates to which he will surely be invited. One letter may picture the whole life of the parasite:<sup>8</sup>

"I hope that old rogue Ranter the tragedian may lose his voice and come to a rogue's end. He had been playing in a play of Aeschylus—the *Escort*—and by dint of extra-loud shouting had

outbawled both his rivals. . . . To celebrate his triumph he gave a party, wearing a wreath of ivy on his head. I was invited and—oh dear—what indignities I had to endure. They daubed my head with pitch and made my eyes water with mustard sauce. The others had milk buns and sesame rolls to eat, but instead of cakes they gave me stones that had been smeared with honey to break my teeth on. That little baggage Rose . . . was the sauciest of the crew. She filled a pig's bladder with blood and cracked it down on my head: it went off with a pop and I had a blood bath. The company split themselves with laughter loud and long, but I received no fair recompense for such treatment. A bellyfull and no more was the price of all their insults. Damn old Ranter! I hope that he will lose next time, and always. I hate the sound of his voice."

### *The Demi-Monde*

THE LETTERS of the courtesans are the most lively reading in all Alciphron. They fall into two classes: letters written for the ordinary courtesan, letters written for great and famous belles. The courtesan in general is what you would expect. Since her business in life is to entertain men, she is venal, jealous, and quarrelsome. A rejected lover writes a letter-plaint outside a closed door and threatens to hang himself. The girl within replies: "I wish a courtesan 'could keep house with tears.' I need money, clothes, furniture, servants. After a year with you, look at the state I am in, hair all rough, clothes in rags. I shall starve if I go on living with you. You could pawn a silver cup or your mother's jewels. You are not a lover, but a wet blanket with your tears." Another hetaera writes succinctly to her lover: "No long letters, please. I need fifty pounds."

Because living depends on securing and keeping a wealthy patron, the hetaerae are jealous of each other. Bacchis tells Myrrhina that she must not suppose Euthias will be faithful to her after the way he treated herself. Also he is a stingy wretch. The enraged Myrrhina is determined to get her lover back: "For four days he has been drinking with Thessala and will not read my letters. If he does come back, I will lock my door against him and if that does not work, I will take stronger measures. Give me a powerful

love potion. I know it is dangerous to use one. Never mind. 'He must either live for me or die for Thessala.'"

A neat letter-skit is about a quarrel of Thais and Euxippe over a handsome captain. Now, Thais writes, "Euxippe has a new girlfriend and the two of them made fun of me at the Harvest Festival, dared to criticize my make-up. They are a pair of monkeys. but I will be revenged on them."

Thais is always a lively letter-writer. Once she upbraided Euthydemus for studying philosophy:<sup>9</sup>

"Now that you go to the Academy you are a solemn student! But your teacher isn't like that: He has an affair with Megara's maid and has been begging me for a meeting. A professor is no better than a courtesan: we both work for money. We are more religious than they are, and we don't deny the existence of the gods. In a courtesan's company, no one talks about tyranny or tries to stir up a revolution. Compare Aspasia and Socrates: which produced the better pupils? Come back, Euthydemus. After a bottle, we will discuss the main object of life, which is pleasure. 'I am philosopher enough to convince you.'"

Two fragmentary letters picture ribald banquets of the hetaerae in the country, where they display their charms, abuse their lovers, and pray for new ones. And all this at the time of a sacrifice to the Nymphs or a festival to Adonis or some other god.

Most distinguished of all the letters by Alciphron are those of famous hetaerae to or about their lovers. A group of four letters pictures fair Phryne, the famous model of the sculptor Praxiteles, and three of her lovers. One is written by Phryne, three by another hetaera Bacchis about her.

Phryne to Praxiteles:<sup>10</sup>

"You need not be afraid, even if you have set up a statue of your mistress in a temple precinct. The work is a masterpiece and no one has ever seen a thing more beautiful made by men's hands. I stand between your own Aphrodite and your own Eros. Do not be jealous of the honour paid me: it is Praxiteles that people praise as they look at me, and it is because I am your workmanship that the men of Thespieae have thought me not unworthy of a place between two divinities. One more favour I still want. Come yourself to me, and

in this enclosure we will fall into one another's arms. The gods will not be shocked: they are our own creation. Good-bye."

The famous trial of Phryne, when her former lover Euthias brought her to court on a charge of profaning the Eleusinian mysteries and the great orator Hyperides defended her, is referred to in a letter by Bacchis to Hyperides himself. She thanks the orator in the name of all the courtesans for having got Phryne off in the trial; Euthias was "a mean rogue in his love affairs, but Hyperides . . . a true gentleman." She hopes that his defense will be rewarded and promises him at any time the other courtesans are ready to serve him. In another letter, Bacchis congratulates Phryne on getting off in the trial, on the fame she has won through not only Athens but all Greece by the case, and on having found a worthy lover in her lawyer. There is a catty sting in the end about Hyperides' success: "You must not believe people when they say that he could not have won the day unless he had torn your robe open and showed the jury your breasts. It was his pleading that made the action appropriate and successful."<sup>11</sup>

A third letter from Bacchis, written to Myrrhina, upbraids her for taking up with Euthias and dreaming that a man who deserted Phryne will be true to Myrrhina. She will find how stingy he is. And she herself is despised by all ladies who 'set some value on the courtesies of love.'

Another famous courtesan, Leontion, writes to Lamia of what a boring lover the old philosopher Epicurus is, and how much she wants to go back to her first love, young Timarchus, who has to attend Epicurus' long-winded lectures. The famous Lamia is all absorbed in her lover, Demetrius Poliorcetes, and writes him that when she sees the great king on the street surrounded by his military escort, she can hardly believe that this Sacker of Cities has lain in her arms; since knowing him, she has given herself to no one else; and she has given him all; she hopes he will send her means for a fine annual banquet to Aphrodite so they can annoy the disgusting Spartans.



Lamia's letter is heroic in tone. A letter by Leaena to Philodemus was catty and ribald enough to have entertained that writer of Epicurean verses:<sup>12</sup>

"I saw your bride at the mysteries in her fine summer dress. By our Lady Venus, I pity you, my poor friend. What an experience it must be to sleep with a tortoise like her! Her complexion too is as red as a beet-root; and her long curls! they do not match her top-knot, my lad. As for the powder on her cheeks; well—! And yet they abuse us courtesans for decking ourselves out. She had a big chain round her neck—she ought to be on a chain always and not a gold one either—and her face was just like a bad dream. And her feet!—the size of them, and the flatness and the clumsiness. Oh dear, what a business it must be to take her in your arms with her things off. I thought too that her breath was not oversweet. Good lady Nemesis, I would rather have a toad for bedfellow."

A group of three letters portrays Glycera, the lady-love of Menander, writer of comedies.<sup>13</sup> One is to Bacchis at Corinth and tells her that Menander, who is about to visit Corinth, wishes to see her, but Glycera is a little fearful of having him call. "Not," she says, "that I am afraid of you, but of him: he is so amorous. 'You must excuse professional jealousy, my dear. I should think it no slight blow if I lost a lover like Menander. Besides, if there should be any difference between us to vex him, I shall have to suffer. I shall be put in a play.'"

Next Menander, ill at Piraeus, writes Glycera of an invitation he has just received from Ptolemy, King of Egypt, to come to his court, promising him everything on earth. Menander swears by the Eleusinian goddesses that he wishes no greater glory or happiness than Glycera's love. He asks, "What is Egypt compared to Athens? 'With them freedom is dangerous, flattery despicable, and fortune treacherous.' I would rather be crowned at Athens in the theater with Glycera looking on than be given a diadem by Ptolemy. 'Where in Egypt shall I see a people assembling to give their votes? Or a throng of citizens enjoying their freedom? Or judges with wreaths of ivy on their sacred heads? . . . There will be no glorious Acropolis there, no sacred goddesses,

no mysteries. . . . Why should I give up this—and Glycera with it—to go to Egypt for the sake of money, gold and silver? . . . I want to be crowned always with Athenian ivy, to sing my song to Dionysus every year by my own hearth, to take part in the mystic rites, and to bring out a new play each annual performance. I want to be happy, to laugh, and to fear, and to enter for the competition and to win.'"

Glycera's reply is a masterpiece of devotion, guile and ambition:

"I have read the King's letter and am very proud of his offer to you. Yet I know you will not leave me. 'What would Athens be without Menander? What would Menander be without Glycera?' But if you wish to see all the wonders of Egypt, do not make me a reason for not going. I will go with you. 'There is no place that will not welcome such a perfect love as ours.' Of course you do not care for wealth; only for your plays and Glycera. But do not make a rash decision. Talk this matter over with Theophrastus and Epicurus and let us consult the omens and Delphi. I will take counsel too of a wise woman from Piraeus who can tell the future from the stars and call up the dead.

"Try, dearest, to come back to Athens soon. Then if you decide to go to Ptolemy, you can select the plays that you should take with you. Be sure to include the play in which I appear so that I can at least travel with you in a drama. Yet I feel sure you will not leave your love behind."

Glycera is the most alive of all Alciphron's hetaerae in her passion, her tact, her subtlety. A contrasting picture is the idealized portrait of Bacchis written after her death in a threnody by her lover, Menecleides, to Euthycles:<sup>14</sup>

"My dear lady is dead. She was always faithful to me, never venal. She rejected the advances of the rich Syrian and of the Egyptian merchant 'to sleep under my poor blanket.' How beautiful she was! 'She whom all the graces loved is lying dead, dust and ashes and a dull stone.' Yet Megara lives and has so robbed Theagenes of his fine estate that he has had to join the army. 'Bacchis, who gave her lover all her heart, is dead.'"

The courtesans, as these letters show, have more individual personalities than the fishermen, the farmers, or the parasites. One reason



is that their letters are longer, giving more by-play to their traits. Another is that they carry their own names, if they are historical characters, or, if not, usable every-day names. It was a whimsy of Alciphron to invent names for his other characters, and to exercise his ingenuity in forming the most preposterous compounds. F. A. Wright in his translation has tried to reproduce the bizarre effects of such nomenclature. In this essay, I have avoided designating all the letter-writers except the courtesans by the names assigned them, thinking that these strange appellations would create a delay and a barrier to the understanding of the letters themselves. A list of a few of Wright's translations will demonstrate their character.

#### THE FISHERMEN<sup>15</sup>

Charles Cheerful to Stephen Shipley.  
David Gray to his Wife.  
Mrs. Sharp sight to her Husband.  
Jack Briny to Jim Salt.

#### THE FARMERS<sup>16</sup>

Walter Vincent to Phoebe Brown.  
Sydney Tree to his Wife.  
Phyllis Bold to her son Victor.  
Jabez Shepherd to Ben Bullock.

#### THE PARASITES<sup>17</sup>

S. Mokesniff to F. Fightfast.  
C. Hatterwine to B. Babblicup.  
B. Beggarfriend to G. Rabbit.  
S. Lovebelly to A. Soupguzzle.

In addition to the composition of such names as these, Alciphron sometimes introduced Latin elements into his compounds.<sup>18</sup> Even a superficial glance at all the names used shows that he was trying to invent names that suited his characters. This kind of nomenclature had already been adopted by Menander for many of his characters: Anathemene, the Lady who Changes her Mind; Hauton Penthon, the Man who Mourns for Himself; Apistos, Faithless; Misoumenos, the Hated; Periceiomene, the Girl whose Hair was Cut off.<sup>19</sup> Perhaps Alciphron was aping (and outdoing) Menander in the christening of his characters.

When we consider why Alciphron chose

the fourth century B.C. for the period of his letters, the solution seems to be the fascination which Menander had for him. Not only for his names but for his character-drawing, Alciphron caught inspiration from the greatest writer of the New Attic Comedy of manners. Alciphron, seeing life as light drama and wishing to convey it in such terms, went back to the age of Menander whose plays had brought real life upon the Attic stage. Alciphron, like an ancient critic, must have exclaimed: "O Menander, O Life, which of you has imitated the other?" The characters in Menander's plays suited Alciphron's interests: plain citizens and their families, dissipated young men, tricky slaves, panderers, courtesans, the new woman. As also with Menander, the interplay of human relations (of parents with children, husband with wives, masters with slaves, men of all ages with hetaerae) formed the unifying material of his compositions.<sup>20</sup> His point of view, like Menander's, was one of understanding, not of criticism. Alciphron might have written certain lines of Menander:<sup>21</sup>

"Poor mortal, never pray to have no griefs,  
Pray to have fortitude. . . ."

"All sufferers have one refuge, a good friend,  
To whom they can lay bare their griefs and  
know  
He will not smile. . . ."

"What stings you is the lightest of all ills,  
Mere poverty . . . a thing one friend can  
cure. . . ."

Alciphron in his sketches of the high-minded courtesan does not make her a lady in disguise whose noble birth is finally discovered, as Menander had done: his realism persists to the end of his character-drawing. But yet he saw that even a prostitute might feel and produce romantic love, that Menander himself was taught romance by his Glycera. F. A. Wright<sup>22</sup> thinks indeed that in Euthycles' picture of his dead mistress, "Alciphron reaches to the true spirit of romance." He continues: "Parallels to various passages might be found in the elegiac poets of Greece and Rome, but there is nothing like it in prose before his time. Sentiment and imagination,

hitherto confined to the domain of poetry, are at last set free for the use of the prose novelist and the final step taken to insure the birth of romance."

Alciphron's resemblance to Menander cannot be pushed too far. No pervading ritual like that of the divine spring-child, "the Year-Baby," haunts his pages.<sup>23</sup> He was interested not only in city folk, but in country fishermen and farmers and their lives on sea and land. He portrayed usually the underdog in the city, parasites and prostitutes, and their excruciating struggle for life. The author's personality is projected into the letters only through his sympathy with the people for whom he writes. The generalizations on life, often appearing at the end of the letters, are theirs. Taken all together these epistles picture fourth-century Athens itself.

"We feel that we are for the moment . . . strolling in its streets, visiting its shops, its courts, and its temples, and that we are getting a whiff of the Aegean, mingled with the less savory odors of the markets and of the wine-shops. We stroll about the city elbowing our way through the throng of boatmen, merchants, and hucksters. Here a barber stands outside his shop and solicits custom; there an old usurer with pimply face sits bending over his accounts in a dingy little office; at the corner of the street a crowd encircles some Cheap Jack who is showing off his juggling tricks at a small three-legged table, making sea-shells vanish out of sight and then taking them from his mouth. Drunken soldiers pass and repass, talking boisterously of their bouts and brawls, of their drills and punishments, and the latest news of their barracks, and forming a striking contrast to the philosopher, who, in coarse robes, moves with supercilious look and an affectation of deep thought, in silence amid the crowd that jostles him . . .

"We see the demi-monde at their toilet, with their mirrors, their powders, their enamels and rouge-pots, their brushes and pincers. . . . Acquaintances come in to make a morning call, and we hear them chatter . . . They nibble cakes, drink sweet wine, gossip about their respective lovers, hum the latest songs, and enjoy themselves with perfect abandon. Again we see them at their evening rendezvous, at the banquets where philosophers, poets, sophists, painters, artists of every sort,—in fact, the whole Bohemia of Athens,—gather round them."<sup>24</sup>

Alciphron's picture of the fourth century before Christ is so clearly written in the spirit of Menander that it seems futile to try to show a great influence of Lucian in his work. Perhaps Lucian was an older contemporary of Alciphron, and there are certainly traces of a knowledge of Lucian in the Letters.<sup>25</sup> The letter of Autocletus about his daughter's birthday party may have taken Lucian's *Banquet* as a model.<sup>26</sup> One name, Lexiphanes, Alciphron took from Lucian.<sup>27</sup> But the treatment of the hetaerae in general seems more humane and compassionate than Lucian's derision. Menander's Habrocloton is the prototype of Alciphron's Glycera and Bacchis, not Lucian's frivolous dames.

In the fifth century A.D. when Aristaenetus, an imitator of Alciphron in letter-writing, strove to portray the relationship of Alciphron and Lucian in a pair of letters, he failed dismally in presenting the spirit or subject matter of Alciphron's work. For he made the theme of his correspondence one of those naughty anecdotes of sex vagaries which the ancients called Milesian Tales, many of which are reproduced in Apuleius' novel, the *Metamorphoses*. No such salacious *novelle* appear in Alciphron's letters.<sup>28</sup>

Alciphron did not invent or achieve the novel in letters. His work has no continuity of plot. Its homogeneity consists in the time element, since the letters represent life in a definite period. Yet he was the precursor of the famous letter novels of the eighteenth century in England. These ponderous works in serials were devoured with avidity when they appeared, but who has time now to read *Pamela* or *Virtue Rewarded* or *Clarissa Harlowe*? Alciphron is little known, but a reader who can get hold of a Greek text or F. A. Wright's sprightly translation will find, I believe, that Alciphron is far more modern and more entertaining than Samuel Richardson. These letters might well be authentic: the illusion in them is complete. Through them the characters of fourth-century Athens mount the stage as surely as in Menander's plays.

## —Liber Animalium

## DAMMA IMPARICRUS

**V**IRI HISTORIAE naturalis periti nos certiores faciunt omnium animalium ea tantum quae ad loca ubi vivant aptissima sint perniciem vitare posse. Aut natura benevola, ut videtur, aut quaedam fortuna alias bestias ad loca apte accomodavit, alias interire sivit.

Cuius accomodationis naturalis exemplum valde mirificum est quod lingua Americana *Sidehill Hodong*, Latine *damma imparicrus* appellatur. Dammae parvulae similis est. Gignitur, si famae credi potest, in Arizona tantum. Cuius civitatis late patet pars ubi montes continui sunt, planities nulla, arbores paucissimae, gramen rarum. Quae ad loca hoc animal mire idoneum est. Crura alterius partis breviora sunt quo celerius loca declivia per traversum transcurrat. Convertere tamen nequit atque, si forte opus est, summa vi alteram partem vallis petit ubi inaequalitas crurium non obsit. Si quando captatum in

locum planum emissum est, in circulos frustra circumcursat.

Singulos fetus parit. Cum tempus pariendi prope advenit mater in montes remotos secedit. Ibi deligit caveam rotundam, amphitheatro parvulo similem, ubi fetum deponat. Pullus nuper natus propter inaequalitatem crurium ab altera parte mammae semper nutriendus est; ab altera parte stare nequit. Qua de causa uber maternum alterius partis non iam lactescit. Pullus brevi validus factus ludo vehementer gaudet atque circum amphitheatrum nativum in circulos libentissime circumcursat. Post aliquot dies a matre in vallem paullo maiorem ducitur quo multo melius inaequalitate crurium fruatur. Tandem adultus dimittitur in vitam feram liberamque ubi summa felicitas est nullam planitiem videre. Nonne natura mirabilis est?

ANON.

## NOTES TO "ATHENIANS AT HOME"

<sup>1</sup> F. A. Wright, *Broadway Translations, Alciphron's Letters from the Country and the Town*, E. P. Dutton and Co., New York, 1923, 13.

<sup>2</sup> 762, 62.

<sup>3</sup> The translations used are by F. A. Wright, *op. cit.* When a whole letter or a large part of one is quoted, due acknowledgment is made. When short phrases are quoted within my paraphrases, they are enclosed by single quotation marks. The references to the Greek text are to the edition of A. Meineke, *Alciphronis Rhetoris Epistolae*, Leipzig, 1853.

<sup>4</sup> 3. 1 and 2, translated by F. A. Wright, *op. cit.*, 1. 11 and 12, pp. 52-53.

<sup>5</sup> 3. 18, F. A. Wright, *op. cit.*, 1. 15, p. 83.

<sup>6</sup> 3. 33, F. A. Wright, *op. cit.*, 1. 31, p. 101.

<sup>7</sup> 3. 36, F. A. Wright, 1. 34, p. 104.

<sup>8</sup> 3. 48, F. A. Wright, *op. cit.*, 2. 12, pp. 127-128.

<sup>9</sup> 1. 34, F. A. Wright, 2. 6, pp. 175-177.

<sup>10</sup> Frg. 3, F. A. Wright, 2. 1, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

<sup>11</sup> 1. 31, F. A. Wright, 2. 3, p. 171.

<sup>12</sup> Frg. 4, F. A. Wright, *op. cit.*, 2. 11, p. 187.

<sup>13</sup> 1. 29, 2. 3, 4, F. A. Wright, *op. cit.*, 2. 17, 18, 19, pp. 207-221.

<sup>14</sup> 1. 38, F. A. Wright, 1. 10, pp. 184-186.

<sup>15</sup> The references are, for the Greek, to A. Meineke's edition; for the translation, to F. A. Wright's translation, which uses the same numbering as N. A. Schepers'

edition, Groningen, 1907. Meineke, 1. 1, 3, 6, 7; Wright, 1. 1, 3, 6, 7, pp. 39, 42, 45, 47.

<sup>16</sup> Meineke, 1. 27; 3. 11, 16, 24; Wright, 1. 6, 8, 13, 21, pp. 74, 76, 81, 91.

<sup>17</sup> Meineke, 3. 49, 57, 71, 74; Wright, 2. 13, 21, 35, 43, pp. 129, 139, 158, 166.

<sup>18</sup> W. Schmid, in Pauli-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Stuttgart, 1894, vol. 1, pp. 1548-1549.

<sup>19</sup> Gilbert Murray, *Aristophanes*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1933, p. 245.

<sup>20</sup> For a comparison of the characters in Menander and Alciphron read the reconstruction of three of Menander's plays in L. A. Post, *Broadway Translations, Menander*, New York, 1929, and Gilbert Murray, *Two Plays of Menander*, New York, 1945.

<sup>21</sup> G. Murray, *op. cit.*, p. 222.

<sup>22</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 19.

<sup>23</sup> G. Murray, *op. cit.*, pp. 230-233.

<sup>24</sup> H. T. Peck, "Alciphron," in *Library of the World's Best Literature*, New York, 1856, 1. pp. 277-281.

<sup>25</sup> W. Schmid, *op. cit.*, p. 1548.

<sup>26</sup> 3. 55.

<sup>27</sup> 3. 71, 1.

<sup>28</sup> F. A. Wright, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-17. Delightful translations of these two letters were made by Richard Brinsley Sheridan and Mr. Halhed, *Erótica*, edited by W. K. Kelly, in *Bohn's Classical Library* London, 1854, pp. 448-449 and 484-485.

# We See By the Papers . . . .

We urge all our readers to appoint themselves special clipping bureaus for this department, and to forward material to us suitably marked with the name of the periodical and the date of issue. If an item appears in a magazine that you do not wish to clip, send us the gist of the material on a penny postcard!—The Editors.

SET BETWEEN ADS FOR LINGERIE and other arcana of interest to the feminine younger set, we find in *MADMOISELLE* for February an article by Professor Jotham Johnson, *CJ*'s Editor for Archaeology, entitled "A Future in the Past." Designed to enlighten any of the magazine's readers who might be interested in adopting archaeology as a vocation or avocation, it explains the nature and aims of the science, describes the conditions under which the work is carried on, evaluates the opportunities for entering the field, and suggests courses of study that may be taken in preparation for the work. (Cf. Johnson's article "So You Want to be an Archaeologist?" in *CJ* for October, 1946.) To indicate that such work is not forbidden to women, an imposing list of women archaeologists and their accomplishments is given.

DISCOVERY of temples and clay pottery at Eridu near the ancient site of Ur was announced by the Iraq Department of Antiquities in an item in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* February 19. The finds are believed to belong to a civilization older than the Alubeid, which is dated before 4000 B.C. They will require historians to adjust their dates for the beginning of Mesopotamian civilization by several hundred years, the Iraq director of antiquities thinks.

A PROFUSELY ILLUSTRATED REVIEW of Arnold Toynbee's *A Study of History* is presented in *LIFE* for February 23. Based on the one-volume abridgment of the work which its author, working at the Institute for Advanced Study, is expected to extend to nine volumes, it devotes a double-page spread of text and drawings to Hellenic civilization. This is one of 21 major civilizations, in terms of which Toynbee interprets all of human his-

tory, and includes both the Greek and the Roman periods of history. It has its genesis (1425-1125 B.C.) following the Minoan period, reaches its pinnacle during the Peloponnesian War, has its "Time of Troubles" from 431 to 31 B.C., establishes a "Universal State" lasting until 375 A.D., and dissolves into an "Interregnum" which lasts until 675 A.D. and is characterized by "a Universal Church."

A REPORT presented at the School and College Conference on English is summarized in the *New York Times* of February 21, of which we received a clipping from Lt. Col. S. G. Brady of Asheville, N. C. The reporting committee, after demonstrating that high-school graduates are seriously ill-equipped for reading, writing, and speaking the English language, proposed a list of fifteen recommendations for improving the teaching of English. Classicists can not help noting that some of these recommendations involve materials and techniques which belong to their own stock in trade. They mention, for example, "greater attention to semantics, grammar and vocabulary building; . . . discriminating perception of language as an instrument of practical use and understanding; . . . encouraging the study of other languages."

THE *MILWAUKEE JOURNAL* continues to be one of our best sources of material for this department, and Professor Walter A. Jennrich has sent us three contributions from its March issues. Under the title "The Judas Iscariot of Old Rome" (March 15) the story of Catiline's conspiracy is told with the consummate skill of a first-rate feature writer (Walter Monfried) and illustrated with a reproduction of the famous painting by Maccari of Cicero speaking in the Senate while Catiline, shunned by his colleagues, sits apart. Another feature, suggested by the scene of guerrilla warfare in Greece, gives an account of the Delphic oracle and Mount Parnassus (March 19). An item dated March 3, with the heading "Five Hundred Ignore Snow to Argue Death of Socrates," describes a Great Books discussion in Milwaukee led by Chancellor Robert M. Hutchins and Milton Mayer of the University of Chicago. The discussion brought forth a notable variety of interpretations of Socrates' case and several con-

PLEASE TURN TO PAGE 495



The second of two articles  
on the Latin names of flowers

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

## Stars in Earth's Firmament

Emory E. Cochran

### NAMES PERPETUATING THE DISCOVERER OR IN HONOR OF INDIVIDUALS

THERE IS A VAST number of such names, of which the following samples may be noted: The *Begonia* was named in honor of Begon, Governor of Santo Domingo (1638-1710). *Forsythia*, which the Chinese with poetic aptness call "golden rain," derives its name from a Scot, William Forsyth (1737-1804), superintendent of the Royal Gardens at St. James' and Kensington, who introduced the *Forsythia* from China in the days of good Queen Anne. *Ludwigia*, commonly known as False Loosestrife, was named for C. G. Ludwig, an early German botanist. Both *Ludwigia* and *Clarkia*, the latter perpetuating the name of Captain Clark the explorer, are genera of the Evening Primrose family.

The scientific name for tobacco is *Nicotiana* (from which we have the word nicotine) and owes its name to John Nicot (1530?-1600), French diplomat, scholar and ambassador in Portugal, who introduced tobacco from Portugal into France. *Magnolia* commemorates the early French botanist Magnol; *Jeffersonia* was named after President Jefferson; and *Claytonia* was first made known by the early Virginian botanist Clayton (*Claytonia Virginica*, Linn. is the name of the Spring Beauty). In this connection it may be noted that the name of the famous scientist Linnaeus, often appearing in abbreviated form after scientific names, is itself of linguistic interest. Linnaeus owes his name to a huge linden tree (*Tilia*) which grew on the family estate. From this tree came such family names as Lindman and Lindeman. Two of Linnaeus' great uncles were clergymen and in recognition of their position took the name of

Tiliander, also from the great tree. The father of Linnaeus was also a clergyman and adopted as his family name the Latinized form of Lindman, viz. Linnaeus. When the son of Linnaeus was granted a patent of nobility, he also took the family name and became Carl von Linné. Otherwise he might have remained plain Carl Nilson, i.e. the son of Nils Ingemarson.

### NAMES DENOTING HABITS AND HABITAT

There are numerous names of this type, for which a few examples must suffice: *pteromys*, 'flying'; *terricola*, 'on land'; *palustris*, 'pertaining to, or growing in, a swamp.' A particularly appropriate habit-defining scientific name is that of the European species of Touch-me-not, *Impatiens noli-me-tangere*, so called from the sudden bursting of the pod when touched.

### GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES

Such names appear frequently as specific names to show the particular habitat, e.g. *Crinum Asiaticum*, Linn., a lily of tropical Asia (*crinum* formed after the Greek name for lily); *Aster Novae-Angliae*, New England Aster; *Pyrus Americana*, American Mountain Ash (In classical Latin *pyrus*, *pirus*, *pyrum* or *pirum* was used for pear-tree); *Mentha Canadensis*, Wild Mint, literally Canadian Mint.

### CLASSICAL ANIMAL NAMES

Apparently every name of animal known in classical mythology, especially Greek, has been made to do service in modern nomenclature. Such names have been modified often to form a large number of designations in common use. Animals commonly undergo a linguistic metamorphosis: *Leontodon*, literally lion-tooth, from the runcinate leaves of some species, becomes *Hawkbit* when en-



dowed with a common name. The genus *Lycopys*, Water Horehound (Hore—from the hoary, downy leaves) of the Labiatae family is derived from the Greek for wolf's foot. And thus 'wolf' is changed to 'hound.' Hound's Tongue, *Cynoglossum officinale*, was supposed "to tye the tongue of houndes so that they shall not bark at you if it be laid under the bottom of your foot." *Potentilla anserina* is goose-grass, the generic name referring to reputed powerful medicinal virtues, and the specific name coming from the Latin word for goose, *anser*. *Equisetum* is Horsetail from Latin *saeta*, 'bristle.'

The modern name for Sow Thistle or Hare's Colewort is *Sonchus oleraceus*, but it was formerly known as *Lactuca leporina*, which is essentially hare's lettuce. *Ophioglossum* is literally Adder's Tongue. *Aesculus hippocastanum* is the Horse Chestnut. Some authorities say the name alludes to its large size; others that it was reputed to have been given to sick horses as a medicine. *Echinops*, Stick-seed, from the Greek for hedge-hog and seed, with reference to the nutlets. *Myosotis*, Forget-me-not or Scorpion Grass, stems from the Greek for mouse-ear, on account of the soft leaves of some species. *Mimulus*, Monkey Flower, from the Greek for ape, because of the grinning corolla. Moth Mullein, *Verbascum blattaria*, owes its name to the soft petals, which resemble a moth's wings, as well as to the hairy stamens which suggest its legs (Latin *blattaria*, 'cockroach' or 'moth'; Pliny uses *verbascum* for mullein). *Geranium* is derived from the Greek word for crane, alluding to the long beak-shaped fruit which resembles a crane's bill.

The castor-oil plant is *Ricinus*, from the Latin name of a beetle which the seed resembles. The genus Hawthorn is *Crataegus*, a Greek-Latin form meaning strength, referring to the hardness of the wood; Cockspur Thorn is *Crataegus crus-galli*, from Latin *crus*, 'shank,' and *gallus*, 'cock.' *Centaurea*, Star Thistle, is said to have been discovered by Chiron the Centaur. *Galeopsis*, Hemp Nettle, is Greek for 'like a weasel,' the application not being obvious. *Elephantopus* is Elephant's Foot; *Chelone* is Turtlehead; and *Chenopodium* is Goosefoot, alluding to the shape of the leaves. *Lupinus*, Lupine, from Latin *lupus*, wolf, is explained by the belief that Lupines devoured the fertility of the soil. The Star of Bethlehem is *Ornithogalum*, Greek for bird's milk, an expression commonly used for something strangely unusual. *Hieracium* is literally Hawkweed (from the Greek) and *Hieracium venosum* is Rattlesnakeweed. The rattlesnake does not occur

in the Old World. Plant names suggesting this serpent have been made in America, and most of them refer to plants with parts that rattle in the wind.

Common English names of flora with animal names with 'dog' and 'hound' are usually of an uncomplimentary nature, e.g. dog-fennels, homely and coarse weeds; dog-berries, none of which are edible; some scientists believe that dog-wood is a corruption of dag-wood or dagger-wood, referring to the use of the wood for skewers to hold meat together in cooking. Flora with names of 'horse' and 'bull' usually denote unusual size or coarseness, e.g. horse-radish (of oversized pungency!), horse-sorrel and horse nettle. Plant names referring to the hog denote inferiority or worthlessness, e.g. hog-weeds, hog-fennel (another name for dog-fennel), hog-peanut, sow-thistles, pig-potato and pig-weed. Prairie plants often have 'buffalo' as a part of the common name: buffalo grass, buffalo clover, buffalo pea, buffalo currant and buffalo bur. Species characterized by softness or delicacy often bear names of animals with soft fur or with other dainty attributes, e.g. pussy-toes, rabbit-bells, rabbit's foot clover, moth mullein.

#### NONSENSE NAMES

There are such coined or nonsense names as *Azema* and *Degonia*. A few anagrams may also be noted, e.g. *Senodon* for *Nesodon*, and *Teonoma* for *Neotoma*.

#### DESCRIPTIVE TERMS

In addition to the scientific names of flora, there are hundreds of descriptive words of Latin and Greek origin commonly used in describing flowers and plants, of which the following is a brief sampling: *acephalous*, headless; *albescent*, whitish or turning white; *barbate*, bearded; *bi-auriculate*, having two ears or what resembles ears; *campanulate*, bell-shaped; *clypeate*, buckler-shaped; *dentate*, toothed; *diaphanous*, transparent or translucent; *epipetalous*, borne on the petals of the corolla; *exiguous*, puny; *flagellate* or *flagelliform*, long, narrow and flexible, like the thong of a whip, or like the runners (*flagellae*) of the Strawberry; *flavescent*, yellow or turning yellow; *gemma*, the state of budding; *hibernaculum*, a winter bud; *indumentum*, any hairy coating or covering; *bijugate*, of two pairs; *litoral*, belonging to the shore; *muriform*, wall-like; *nuciform*, nut-like; *ovuliferous*, ovule-bearing; *pauciflorous*, few-flowered; *quadrifid*, four-cleft; *retuse*,

blunted; sempervirent, evergreen; trilocular, three-celled; umbraculiform, umbrella-shaped; viviparous, sprouting or germinating while attached to the parent plant; xanthocarpus, yellow-fruited.

### Universal Language of Flowers

THE UNIVERSALITY and flexibility of Latin and Greek is ideally illustrated in scientific nomenclature. Scientists in all countries are familiar with classical names. When such men meet in national or international congresses, they deal in terms easily understood by all,—designations of Latin and Greek origin. If such scientists in convention spoke the floral vernacular of their local sections, there would be real linguistic babel. Just imagine the following conversation between two scientists: "Have you a Quaker Lady (i.e. *Spiraea latifolia*) in your herbarium?" "No, but I do have Aunt Jericho and a Tushy-lucky." (Local barbarous designations in popular etymology for *Angelica* (!) and *Tussilago*.)

With this brief and elementary explanation of scientific floral nomenclature, technical labeling should be more intelligible. The next time you take a walk through your favorite park, note carefully the label names of the

flowers, plants, shrubs and trees. Such use of Latin and Greek will be both useful and pleasurable. The following list contains just a few of several dozen trees and shrubs noted within a five-minute walk from the Library of the Bronx Botanical Garden. To save space the family names are omitted: Tulip Tree, *Liriodendron tulipifera*; Red Maple, *Acer rubrum*; Sugar Maple, *Acer saccharum*; White Oak, *Quercus alba*; Pin Oak, *Quercus palustris*; Red Oak, *Quercus borealis maxima*; American Elm, *Ulmus Americana*; Dutch Elm, *Ulmus Hollandica*; Yellow Birch, *Betula lutea*; American Linden (Basswood), *Tilia glabra*; Horse Chestnut, *Aesculus hippocastanum*; Black Walnut, *Juglans nigra*; White Poplar, *Populus alba*; Persian Lilac, *Syringa Persica*; Tree of Heaven, *Ailanthus altissima* (*Ailanthus* is a cross between *Amboyna*-*Malayan kayu-langit*, tree of the sky, and classical Greek *anthos*, 'flower').

The most subtle, sincere and effective compliment is often presented in indirect form. We learn of the beauty of Helen of Troy, not from any direct description by Homer, but from the effect her beauty had on other characters in the epic. When a collection of choice literary gems is made, it is called an anthology, literally "a collection of flowers."

---

### Current Events

#### CAPS, NORTHERN SECTION

PROFESSOR O. J. TODD, of the University of British Columbia, was elected president of the Northern Section of the Classical Association of the Pacific States at the thirty-sixth annual meeting held at Eugene, Oregon, on March 27, 1948. Dr. W. P. Clark of Montana State University and Miss Margaret Smutz of Portland were elected vice-president and secretary-treasurer, respectively. It was decided that the 1949 meeting would be held in Vancouver, B.C.

The meeting was called to order at 10 A.M. by the president, Professor F. M. Combella, of the University of Oregon. After a word of welcome, Professor Combella introduced Professor William M. Green of the University of California, who presented a paper on "Roman Views of History." During the remainder of the morning session, Dr. Ludwig Edelstein of the University of Washington, formerly of The Johns Hopkins

University, spoke on "The Historiography of Posidonius," an outstanding Stoic and teacher of Cicero. Mr. Benson Mates, of the University of California, spoke on "The Elements of Stoic Philosophy"; and Mr. Quirinus Breen, of the University of Oregon, described "The Isocratean Ideal of an Educated Man."

Following luncheon at the University of Oregon Faculty Club, Mr. D. A. Amyx, of the University of California, gave an illustrated address on "Some Recent Appraisals of Greek Sculpture"; Mrs. H. D. Ephron, the *femina sola* on the program, described the Humanities course at the University of Montana; and Mr. Robert Vosper, from the library staff at the University of California at Los Angeles, in the course of remarks entitled "The Greek Anthology—Some Thoughts on Translation," showed that it is better to know the Classics in translation than not at all.

A. E. Housman—"Tears of eternity, and sorrow"—  
Tender poet, savage critic, salvager of broken texts

## Even Classicists Are Odd

Solomon Katz

*The third in a series of articles on great Cambridge philologists*

IT IS WITH SOME misgivings that I introduce cheek by jowl with Porson, A. E. Housman, the last of my three great classical scholars from Cambridge. Yet Housman, though his precise habits and his meticulous manners presented a striking contrast with those of Porson, would not have rejected the juxtaposition. Housman, to be sure, disliked comparisons with those whom he considered his superiors, especially Bentley, and he once told a student, "I wish they would not compare me with Bentley; Bentley would cut up into four of me."<sup>45</sup> On another occasion, however, while he angrily rejected the comparison with Bentley, he said, "I will not tolerate comparison with Bentley. Bentley is alone and supreme. They may compare me with Porson if they will—the comparison is not preposterous—he surpassed me in some qualities as I claim to surpass him in others."<sup>46</sup>

ALFRED EDWARD HOUSMAN was born in 1859, attended the Bromsgrove School in Worcestershire, and came in time to St. John's College, Oxford.<sup>47</sup> The Regius Professor of Greek at Oxford in Housman's time was Benjamin Jowett, the famous Master of Balliol. But from the single lecture of Jowett which he heard Housman came away disgusted by the Master's disregard for precise scholarship. Jowett, one of his disciples has indiscreetly revealed, was particularly shocked by the ideal of research and described it as a "mere excuse for idleness; it has never achieved and will never achieve any results of the slightest value."<sup>48</sup>

In 1881 Housman failed in Greats, apparently because he chose to spend his time

over the text of Propertius rather than to devote himself to the studies required of a Greats candidate. This was the blow which, according to his sister, damaged his life, and as a result of this failure he banished himself from academic life for over ten years which he spent as an examiner in the Patent Office in London.<sup>49</sup> Although there was little opportunity to use his classical learning during office hours, Housman's interests were known to his associates. When he left the Patent Office in 1892 one of his superiors presented him with a Wedgewood Medallion of Bentley; unfortunately the Bentley represented was not the Master of Trinity but Wedgewood's partner, Thomas Bentley.<sup>50</sup>

His work at the Patent Office allowed Housman time and energy to devote to his own classical studies after office hours, and presently he began to publish learned papers on textual criticism. These early papers dealt largely with Greek tragedy, but after his appointment to the University of London he confined himself largely to Latin and wrote very little on classical Greek poetry. In his first papers Housman already displayed the results of what he described later as "that minute and accurate study of the classical tongues which affords Latin professors their only excuse for existing."<sup>51</sup>

In 1892 Housman applied for and gained that chair of Latin at University College, London, which he occupied until 1911. His teaching at London was elementary, and we are told that his criticisms of their Latin prose sometimes reduced his women students to tears. "But what, I think, hurt them more," one of Housman's colleagues wrote subse-

quently,<sup>53</sup> "was the fact that having reduced Miss Brown, Miss Jones and Miss Robinson to tears, Housman professed, when he met them next week, not to know which was Miss Brown, which Miss Jones, and which Miss Robinson. . . . [Subsequently] Housman . . . apologized for this lack of memory. . . . 'If I had remembered all your faces, I might have forgotten more important things'—not, he hastened to explain, things more important in themselves but more important to him; had he burdened his memory by the distinction between Miss Jones and Miss Robinson, he might have forgotten that between the second and fourth declension." It was perhaps to his Misses Brown, Jones, and Robinson that Housman is said to have remarked, "There is in Africa a tribe which suffers from so grave a shortage of women that even the young ladies of University College would have no difficulty finding husbands there." When the young ladies rose in wrath to leave the classroom, Housman wagged an admonitory finger, and said, "Ladies, ladies, there is really no reason for haste; the next boat for Africa does not leave until Sunday." The story, *se non è vero, è ben trovato*.

In 1911 Housman, who was already known in the scholarly world for his edition of Juvenal (1905) and the first volume of his monumental edition of Manilius (1903), as well as his numerous articles and reviews in the classical journals, was appointed Kennedy Professor of Latin at Cambridge and at the same time was made a Fellow of Trinity College, positions he filled with distinction until his death in 1936.

Housman's *Shropshire Lad*, his *Last Poems*, and *More Poems*, his *Introductory Lecture*, delivered at University College, London, in 1892, his Leslie Stephen Lecture, *The Name and Nature of Poetry*, and his great editions of Manilius, Juvenal, and Lucan have already attained the status of classics, and it would be supererogatory to try to evaluate either his poetry or scholarship, in both of which he showed his passion for perfection. It would moreover, be an impertinence for me to attempt, what Housman's family and friends have not succeeded in accomplishing, to solve

"the Housman enigma," to seek to discover the secret springs of his personality. Perhaps Housman, the poet, has given the answer:

They say my verse is sad: no wonder;  
Its narrow measure spans  
Tears of eternity, and sorrow,  
Not mine, but man's.<sup>54</sup>

or,

The stars have not dealt me the worst they  
could do:  
My pleasures are plenty, my troubles are two.  
But oh, my two troubles they reave me of rest,  
The brains in my head and the heart in my  
breast.<sup>54</sup>

Easier to understand is the fierce intellectual honesty and the immense learning amounting to genius which drove him to attack with mordant wit, and a pen that slashed and flayed, those scholars whom he considered guilty of loose thinking and pretentiousness. The introductions to his editions of classical authors and his reviews in the classical journals form a kind of Dunciad in which he exposed with harsh and sometimes scurrilous phrases the incompetence of other scholars, the quick as well as the dead. His was a fanatical quest for truth which made him impatient of what he regarded as the ignorance and the stupidity of other editors. For he set extraordinarily high standards for the classical scholar:

"Judging an emendation requires in some measure the same qualities as emendation itself, and the requirement is formidable. To read attentively, think correctly, omit no relevant consideration, and repress self-will, are not ordinary accomplishments; yet an emendator needs much besides: just literary perception, congenial intimacy with the author, experience which must have been won by study, and mother-wit which he must have brought with him from his mother's womb.

"It may be asked whether I think that I myself possess this outfit, or even most of it; and if I answer yes, that will be a new example of my notorious arrogance. I had rather be arrogant than impudent. I should not have undertaken to edit Manilius unless I had believed that I was fit for the task; and in particular I think myself a better judge of emendation, both when to emend and how to emend, than most others."<sup>55</sup>



To these high standards Housman added those qualities which he admired in Scaliger, of whose work he said:<sup>56</sup>

"No commentary is brisker reading or better entertainment than these abrupt and pithy notes, with their spurts of mockery at unnamed detractors, and their frequent and significant stress upon the difference between Scaliger and a jackass."

It was not merely Housman's scholarship that compelled his reviewers to compare him with Scaliger and Bentley, but also his controversial style. These reviewers found his prefaces cruel and bitter, "well worth reading, scarcely worth writing," "fresh cries wrung from a lonely soul compelled to drag out a weary existence in an age of dullards."<sup>57</sup> Housman himself gave a characteristic answer:<sup>58</sup>

"My disregard of established opinions and my disrespect for contemporary fashions in scholarship made the ignorant feel sure that I was greatly and presumptuously in error and could be put down without much difficulty; and critiques were accordingly published which I do not suppose that their authors would now wish to rescue from oblivion. Not by paying any attention to any of them, not by swerving one inch from my original principles and practice, but by the mere act of living on and continuing to be the same, I have changed that state of things; and the deaf adder, though I can hardly say that she has unstopped her own ears, has begun to stifle her hisses for fear that they should reach the ears of posterity. Perhaps there will be no long posterity for learning; but the reader whose good opinion I desire and have done my utmost to secure is the next Bentley or Scaliger who may chance to occupy himself with Manilius."

A few typical examples of Housman's controversial style, culled from the prefaces to his editions of Juvenal, Lucan, and Manilius, may demonstrate that ideal of impeccable scholarship, that zeal for truth, which represented perhaps a virtue in excess, for it shocked many scholars accustomed to more restrained criticism and hurt those who were attacked.

In his *Juvenal* edited, as the title page assures us, "for the behoof of editors," and "in humane concern for the relief of a people

sitting in darkness,"<sup>59</sup> Housman writes of these editors:<sup>60</sup>

"Frailty of understanding is in itself no proper target for scorn and mockery: 'nihil in eo odio dignum, misericordia digna multa.' But the unintelligent forfeit their claim to compassion when they begin to indulge in self-complacent airs, and to call themselves sane critics, meaning that they are mechanics. And when, relying upon their numbers, they pass from self-complacency to insolence, and reprove their betters for using the brains which God has not denied them, they dry up the fount of pity."

Housman's *Lucan* provides other examples:

"I touch with reluctance, as Gibbon might say, and dispatch with impatience, an idle yet pretentious game in which Lucan's less serious critics find amusement, and which they call *Ueberlieferungsgeschichte*, because that is a longer and nobler name than fudge."<sup>61</sup>

"The names of Nicaeus and Paulus make an ugly smear across the scholarship of half a century, and posterity should titter a good deal at the solemn coxcombs of the age which I have had to live through."<sup>62</sup>

"An elaborate edition with apparatus criticus and commentary was produced in 1896 and 1897 by C. M. Francken. Hardly a page of it can be read without anger and disgust. Francken was a born blunderer, marked cross from the womb and perverse; and he had not the shrewdness or modesty to suspect that others saw clearer than he did, nor the prudence and decency to acquaint himself with what he might have learnt from those whom he preferred to contradict . . . He would rather advertise such errors by the score and the hundred than take any steps to be rid of them. I often comment in my notes on the mistakes of other editors; but Francken's are too many to mention and too naked to need exposure. The width and variety of his ignorance are wonderful; it embraces mythology, paleography, prosody, and astronomy, and he cannot keep it to himself. . . . For stupidity of plan and slovenliness of execution his apparatus criticus is worse than Breiter's apparatus to Manilius; and I never saw another of which that could be said."<sup>63</sup>

Or one may contemplate these examples from Housman's *Manilius*:

"In racing back to the feet of Alschevski Messrs. Buecheler and Vahlen are hampered by

two grave encumbrances: they know too much Latin and they are not sufficiently obtuse. Among their pupils are several who comprehend neither Latin nor any other language, and whom nature has prodigally endowed at birth with that hebetude of intellect which Messrs. Vahlen and Buecheler, despite their assiduous and protracted efforts, have not yet succeeded in acquiring. Thus equipped, the apprentices proceed to exegetical achievements of which their masters are incapable, and which perhaps inspire those masters less with envy than with fright: indeed I imagine that Mr. Buecheler, when he first perused Mr. Sudhaus' edition of the *Aetna*, must have felt something like Sin when she gave birth to Death."<sup>64</sup>

"Having small literary culture [Messrs. Jacob and Bechert] are not revolted by illiteracy, having slight knowledge of grammar they are not revolted by solecism, having no sequence of ideas they are not revolted by nonsense."<sup>65</sup>

"Yet the virtues of [Jacob's] work are quenched and smothered by the multitude and monstrosity of its vices. They say that he was born of human parentage; but if so he must have been suckled by Caucasian tigers . . . . Not only had Jacob no sense for grammar, no sense for coherency, no sense for sense, but being himself possessed by a passion for the clumsy and the hispid he imputed this disgusting taste to all the authors whom he edited; and Manilius . . . is accordingly constrained to write the sort of poetry which might have been composed by Nebuchadnezzar when he was driven from men and did eat grass as oxen."<sup>66</sup>

"If a man will comprehend the richness and variety of the universe, and inspire his mind with a due measure of wonder and of awe, he must contemplate the human intellect not only on its heights of genius but in its abysses of ineptitude; and it might be fruitlessly debated to the end of time whether Richard Bentley or Elias Stoeber was the more marvellous work of the Creator: Elias Stoeber, whose reprint of Bentley's text, with a commentary intended to confute it, saw the light in 1767 at Strasburg, a city still famous for its geese . . . . Stoeber's mind, though that is no name to call it by, was one which turned as unswervingly to the false, the meaningless, the unmetrical, and the ungrammatical, as the needle to the pole."<sup>67</sup>

"One or two of [Ellis' corrections] were very pretty, but his readers were in perpetual contact with the intellect of an idiot child."<sup>68</sup>

Small wonder that Housman could write in the preface to the last volume of his *Manilius*.<sup>69</sup>

"All [the volumes] were produced at my own expense and were offered to the public at much less than cost price; but this unscrupulous artifice did not overcome the natural disrelish of mankind for the combination of a tedious author with an odious editor. Of each volume there were printed 400 copies: only the first is yet sold out, and that took 23 years; and the reason why it took no longer is that it found purchasers among the unlearned, who had heard that it contained a scurrilous preface and hoped to extract from it a low enjoyment."

Housman derived obvious pleasure from his barbed criticisms, and he had in his notebook a quantity of ammunition waiting apparently to be used against erring editors who might appear in the future, for names were not included. A few examples may entertain:<sup>70</sup> "Nature, not content with denying to Mr. ——— the faculty of thought, has endowed him with the faculty of writing." "I do not know upon what subject ——— will next employ his versatile incapacity. He is very well—dangerously well." "Conjectural emendation as practised by ——— is not a game, an exercise requiring skill and heed, like marbles or skittles or cats' cradle but a pastime, like leaning against a wall and spitting." "If Mr. ——— were a postage stamp he would be a very good postage stamp; but adhesiveness is not the virtue of a critic. A critic is free and detached."

Or I may cite the concluding paragraph of Housman's review of Bailey's *Lucretius*:<sup>71</sup>

"Mr. Bailey says in his preface that he has been sparing of original conjectures because he does not wish to inflict new wounds upon the text. This estimate of his own talent in that department is certainly modest and seemingly correct. He prints only one emendation and it is *intust*. Better one than two."

The scholars who felt the lash of Housman's pen were naturally resentful and occasionally they protested. Housman himself was of course aware of the effect of his reviews and prefaces. "For scholars to argue against me as Mr. Heitland argues," he once wrote at the

conclusion of an acrimonious controversy,<sup>72</sup> "is just the way to foster in me that arrogant temper to which I owe my deplorable reputation." It is obvious that he enjoyed both the temper and the reputation.

Of American scholarship Housman seems to have had a poor opinion. To his publisher he wrote in connection with the printing of the first volume of *Manilius*, "There is no American publication which regularly reviews classical books, but *The American Journal of Philology* reviews a certain number, and I have no objection to your sending them a copy. But I doubt if they would review it. American scholars are mere grammarians and collectors of statistics, and what we call critical scholarship hardly exists there." Of Americans generally he once wrote "I am told that Americans are human beings, though appearances are against them."<sup>73</sup>

Not only did Housman frighten by his polemic; his personal aloofness and taciturnity were equally formidable on occasion. Yet he was an admirable raconteur, and his anecdotes, his parodies, and his light verse were a delight. Who has not heard of his valedictory remarks at the dinner given to him by University College, London, on his appointment at Cambridge? After referring to the abstemious habits of his predecessor at Cambridge, Housman said, "So the University which once saw Wordsworth drunk and once saw Porson sober will see a better scholar than Wordsworth, and a better poet than Porson, betwixt and between."<sup>74</sup>

When on this occasion his students at London presented Housman with a large silver loving cup inscribed with a verse from *A Shropshire Lad*, "Malt does more than Milton can to justify God's ways to man," Housman told them that he was succeeding Professor Mayor "who drank like a fish—if drinking nothing but water might be so described." "When they see me coming to Cambridge with this cup," he said, "they will understand that things are going to be changed."<sup>75</sup> Housman, it may be added, was a connoisseur of good food and wine. For many years he was a member of the committee which chose the wine for Trinity College, and his gourmet's

tastes in food received their accolade when the famous Restaurant Tour d'Argent in Paris named one of its dishes after him, *Barbue Housman*.<sup>76</sup>

Housman's light verse is less well known than his serious poetry, but it illustrates another facet of his personality. His poem, "The Elephant, Or the Force of Habit," is quite delightful.<sup>77</sup>

A tail behind, a trunk in front,  
Complete the usual elephant.  
The tail in front, the trunk behind,  
Is what you very seldom find.

If you for specimens should hunt  
With trunks behind and tails in front,  
That hunt would occupy you long;  
The force of habit is so strong.

Housman's *Fragment of a Greek Tragedy*, an admirable piece of parody, is better known, and I shall quote only a fragment of a *Fragment*. The chorus sings:<sup>78</sup>

O, suitably attired in leathern boots  
Head of a traveller, wherefore seeking whom  
Whence by what way how purposed art thou  
come  
To this well-nightingaled vicinity?  
My object in inquiring is to know,  
But if you happen to be deaf and dumb  
And do not understand a word I say,  
Then wave your hand, to signify as much.

When in this somber tragedy Eriphyla shouts:

Oh, I am smitten with a hatchet's jaw;  
And that in deed and not in word alone,

The chorus replies:

I thought I heard a sound within the house  
Unlike the voice of one that jumps for joy.

Again Eriphyla shouts:

O! O! Another stroke! that makes the third  
He stabs me to the heart against my wish.

And the chorus sings:

If that be so, thy state of health is poor;  
But thine arithmetic is quite correct.

The curtain must, however, be drawn on my gallery of Cambridge classicists as upon Housman's *Fragment of a Greek Tragedy*.

Must I conclude by pointing a moral to adorn the tale? What does Quintilian say? "Scribitur ad narrandum, non ad probandum." Should we deplore the contentious ways of a Bentley, the bibulous habits of a Porson, the vituperative pen of a Housman? I think not. They have compensated for human frailties by their immortal scholarship. Let that, however, not be regarded as a licence to others. Idiosyncrasies alone will not enable the classicist to join the ranks of the Olympians I have discussed. But if any scholar has their learning we may surely forgive him much else that is not deemed admirable. The Golden Age of classical scholarship has not necessarily ended. We must not perhaps ask for a second Porson, but we may express a pious hope that this generation will produce a second Bentley or a second Housman.

## NOTES

<sup>45</sup> A. S. F. Gow, *A. E. Housman*, Cambridge, 1936, pp. 39-40.

<sup>46</sup> P. Withers, *A Buried Life*, London, 1940, p. 64.

<sup>47</sup> For biographical data concerning Housman, see Gow and Withers, cited above; also Laurence Housman, *My Brother, A. E. Housman*, New York, 1938, Grant Richards, *Housman, 1897-1936*, London, 1941, and Alfred Edward Housman, *Recollections by Various Hands*, New York, 1937. Gow, *op. cit.*, pp. 64 ff. has a list of Housman's writings. See also T. C. Ehrsam, *A Bibliography of Alfred Edward Housman*, Boston, 1941.

<sup>48</sup> L. P. Smith, *Unforgotten Years*, Boston, 1939, p. 186.

<sup>49</sup> Richards, *op. cit.*, Introduction by Mrs. E. W. Symonds (Housman's sister), p. xiv.

<sup>50</sup> Gow, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

<sup>51</sup> A. E. Housman, *Introductory Lecture . . . University College, London . . . 1892*, Cambridge (Cambridge University Press), 1937, p. 14. Reprinted by permission of the publishers.

<sup>52</sup> R. W. Chambers, *Man's Unconquerable Mind*, London, 1939, p. 368.

<sup>53</sup> A. E. Housman, *More Poems*, prefatory poem, in *Collected Poems*, New York (Henry Holt and Company), 1940, p. 155. Reprinted by permission of the publishers.

<sup>54</sup> A. E. Housman, *Additional Poems*, XVII, in *Col-*

lected *Poems*, New York (Henry Holt and Company), 1940, p. 232. Reprinted by permission of the publishers.

<sup>55</sup> A. E. Housman, *Manilius*, 2d ed., Cambridge, 1937, v, xxxv.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, i, xiv.

<sup>57</sup> H. W. Garrod, *Reviews of Housman's Manilius*, *Classical Review*, 27 (1913) 135-137; 31 (1917), 107-108; 35 (1921), 38-40; W. B. Anderson, *Review of Housman's Lucan*, *Classical Review*, 41 (1927), 26-33. H. W. Garrod, *Scholarship. Its Meaning and Value*, Cambridge, 1946, p. 28, speaks of "this inhumanity of humanism," and p. 30, Housman's "fine gift of slapdash journalism."

<sup>58</sup> Housman, *Manilius*, v, xxxvi-xxxvii.

<sup>59</sup> Housman, *Juvenal*, London, 1905, p. xxxvi.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xiii.

<sup>61</sup> A. E. Housman, *Lucan*, Oxford (Basil Blackwell Ltd.), 1926, p. xiii. This and other passages from *Lucan* are reprinted by permission of the publishers.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xviii.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. xxxiv-xxxv.

<sup>64</sup> Housman, *Manilius*, i, xlv.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, i, xxxix.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, i, xxi.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, i, xix.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, v, xxiii.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, v, v.

<sup>70</sup> Reprinted from Laurence Housman, *My Brother, A. E. Housman*, New York, 1938, p. 77; examples, pp. 89-90; copyright, 1938, by Laurence Housman; used by permission of Charles Scribner's Sons.

<sup>71</sup> Housman, *Review of C. Bailey, Lucretius*, *Classical Review*, 14 (1900), 368.

<sup>72</sup> Housman, "Pharsalia Nostra," *Classical Review*, 15 (1901), 131.

<sup>73</sup> Grant Richards, *Housman, 1897-1936*, London (Oxford University Press: Humphrey Milford), 1941, pp. 52, 205. Reprinted by permission of the publishers.

<sup>74</sup> Laurence Housman, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

<sup>75</sup> *Idem*; Chambers, *Man's Unconquerable Mind*, pp. 380-381.

<sup>76</sup> Richards, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

<sup>77</sup> Reprinted from Laurence Housman, *My Brother, A. E. Housman*, New York, 1938, p. 236; copyright, 1938, by Laurence Housman; used by permission of Charles Scribner's Sons.

<sup>78</sup> Authorized version with changes by A. E. H. in *The Yale Review*, N. S. 17 (1928), 414-416. Reprinted by permission of the Editors of *The Yale Review*. Cf. Housman's "Fragment of a Didactic Poem on Latin Grammar," in Laurence Housman, *op. cit.*, pp. 245-247.

## SEMPLER FELLOWSHIP AWARD

Miss Edith M. A. Kovach, of Detroit, Michigan, has been awarded the Sempler Fellowship for study in Rome for the summer session of 1948 at the American School, it has been announced by the chairman of the committee in charge, Professor John B. Tichener of Ohio State University.

The fellowship, for summer study abroad, is awarded each year to a teacher in the territory of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South.



# LANX SATURA

## Roman Studies

ON ANOTHER page we list the scholars who have been awarded fellowships for 1948-49 at the School of Classical Studies of the American Academy in Rome. These are appointments extremely important, not only for the recipients but also for the continuing welfare of us all.

The trustees of the Academy, who announce the awards, say in effect: "The function of the Classical School of the Academy is to further Latin studies in America, by providing such training in Latin scholarship as can be provided more appropriately in Rome than anywhere else. In order that material considerations shall not deprive the most promising young teachers of this training, the Academy shoulders a substantial portion of their expenses, in the form of fellowships. In awarding these fellowships to you seven, we acknowledge that your personal character, your industry, aptitude, and intelligence give promise of distinguished service to Latin studies, and we serve notice that we shall count upon you to provide leadership in the next generation. May your term in Rome be of the utmost benefit to you now, and ultimately to us all."

These scholarships represent an honor and an extraordinary privilege; *CJ* extends its congratulations to those appointed, and wishes them a happy journey. Such awards represent a trust and a rather sobering responsibility; and we are hopeful that the new scholars are aware of this.

THIS BRINGS US to the subject of one of the most serious deficiencies in the equipment of the Latin teacher today: the lack of a sound handbook, in English, of Roman archaeology. Such a book is needed as a textbook for formal courses in Roman archaeology, at the gradu-

Quidquid agunt homines,  
votum timor ira voluptas  
gaudia discursus, nostri  
farrago libelli est.

ate level and, at many colleges, at the undergraduate level; and as a reference book in every public library, in every college library, in every high school where Latin is taught, and in the personal library of every teacher of classics, ancient history, archaeology, or anthropology.

No such book exists, and there is no book which can even be used as a makeshift. In its absence, teachers have given courses on the archaeology of Pompeii, using as a textbook the obsolete Mau or the too-brief Carrington—when they could be obtained—leaving their pupils with the monstrous notion that Roman archaeology can be studied best, or only, at Pompeii; or courses on the Topography and Monuments of Rome, using the 1911 edition of Platner, with analogous results. Other teachers, more resolute, have based courses, sometimes very good courses, on reading assignments in a wide variety of reference books: Randall MacIver, the *Cambridge Ancient History*, the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Tenney Frank, Haverfield, Walters, Strong, Lawrence Roberston, and Vitruvius, as well as Mau and Platner; where reference or reserve-book conditions permit, this procedure has been stimulating and instructive to teacher and taught alike, but not all teachers can supply the necessary organization.

The desired book should treat the archaeology of Italy, Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica, from its ill-understood beginnings in the paleolithic period to the arbitrary stopping-point provided by the death of Constantine; it should be a historical summary of our present understanding of Italic material culture: town sites, plans, and fortifications; roads, streets, and sidewalks; water supply and sewers; municipal architecture, private housing, and places of worship; furniture and household equipment; funeral customs; with, perhaps, in an extended appendix, an account of

the special archaeology of the Roman army. It should take only enough notice of sculpture, painting, and the decorative arts to make the picture complete, and scrupulously avoid (*pace* Fowler and Wheeler) any attempt to give an historical survey of ancient art in the Italian peninsula. In the absence of any considerable number of chairs in Roman archaeology, it should be written with the Latin teacher in mind who offers Roman archaeology as a supplement to Latin studies, and it will best serve its masters if it is related to the fact that Latin studies are and will continue to be built in large part around Caesar, Cicero, Vergil, Livy, Tacitus, and Pliny, all of which are enhanced by archaeological illustration. Finally, it should be written compactly, within the limits of 360 pages, in order that a college class may complete its study in the thirty twelve-page reading assignments; and it should be illustrated so freely that supplementary slides and photographs, however desirable, will not be necessary.

Who will write this book for us? It is inconceivable that any American who has not studied at Rome should be as well qualified to write such a book as an alumnus of the School; we must look to the School to provide an author qualified by training, the experience of archaeology, and individual acumen, to do the job. It is the opinion of your editors that, in failing to provide either the book itself or a scholar both clearly competent to write it and interested in writing it, the Rome School has overlooked a public service which would have placed us all in its debt.

To this view the objection may be made that such an undertaking is a commercial proposition, and that, if a demand for such a book should in fact exist, it would be the proper concern of an enterprising publisher of textbooks to supply it.

We can at least certify that the demand exists; as for the enterprise of the publishers, we need only cite the experience of Latin scholarship with *Harper's Latin Dictionary* ("Lewis and Short"), obsolescent when it was last revised in 1879, but repeatedly reprinted, to the advantage only of the publishers, from that day to this.

Perhaps we may look to one of the newly-appointed fellows of the Rome School to produce the longed-for volume.

WHILE WE ARE ON the subject, Latin teaching in this country has badly needed for years a new Latin dictionary, yet present indications are that before too long a time has elapsed, British scholars will have produced such a work through the Oxford University Press. When one considers that the American classical scholar depends almost entirely upon his colleagues in other countries both for massive works of basic scholarship and research and for the standard reference works and tools of the teaching trade, one is perhaps justified in asking what the American scholar has been doing, or rather, wherein he has failed.

The answer lies, perhaps—and this is only a suggestion—in the excessive individualism of American scholarship. The pursuit of truth has rightly been honored in the ideologies of the graduate school, but very often the scholar confuses the pursuit of truth with the gratification of his personal interests. Scholarship under such conditions tends to become a solitary pursuit, and may well represent merely the expression of the same personal drives as result in stamp-collection or doing cross-word puzzles. Or, on the other hand, the scholar may look about and attempt to discover an area in which little or nothing has been published, without enquiring whether anything in a given area is really significant enough to merit investigation or publishing. Somehow American scholarship has failed to carry out the implications of historical positivism which influenced German scholarship and led to the production of such massive cooperative works as the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* or the great *Real-Encyclopädie* known to all graduate students as "Pauly-Wissowa" or simply "RE." On the other hand, American scholarship, through its New England affiliations, has been influenced rather by the Cambridge tradition of philology rather than by the broader scope of Oxford humanism wherein the scholar and the humanist were never far from the classroom or from public life.

During the past year there have been a number of significant developments in the field of classical studies which may, let us hope, give new direction to the functions of the Department of Classics in years to come. While these developments as yet represent

trends rather than actualities, one of the most encouraging of these seems to be the desire to ascertain in what way the Department of Classics can be most useful in the present calculus of education, and what needs to be done in a civic and cultural context.

## THE CEP PROJECT AT WORK

### *A Report on the New Vergil Program*

THE NOVEMBER ISSUE of *CJ* will be given over largely to the reports of progress made at the Milwaukee meeting of CAMWS by workers affiliated with the project of the Committee on Educational Policies in connection with the formulation of a two-year Latin program based on Vergil. The Committee, as reported on Page 418 of our April issue, has recently been given a grant by the American Council of Learned Societies to carry on its work. Here the chairman of the committee, Miss Lenore Geweke, describes the work that, it is hoped, will be substantially completed within the coming year.—Ed.

At the time of writing, the project looms large with problems that must be considered, research that must be done, before any experimental materials can be constructed. Research workers are at present doing frequency counts of vocabulary, forms, syntax. Content will be treated in a like manner.

With regard to forms, authors are being sifted by frequency counts. But tremendous as this task may be, it is only part of the problem. Again, how should they be presented? Must each declension be emphasized as it now is, must all verbs be learned by tense, mood, and voice in regular conjugations, or what short cuts must be developed? Just how can a pupil most effectively acquire a knowledge of forms? In short, a basic list of forms and criteria for the most effective acquisition of them must be formulated.

What should be the basis of the syntax that is to be learned in experimental materials? How can this basic syntax best be learned? Frequency counts of Latin authors will answer the first question. Educational psychology and linguistics should lead to tenable

theories in answer to the second question.

The most difficult problem, however, is just what should be the content of the first year, which authors and what selections should be chosen. The problem, actually, is only part of a larger one. What, in Roman civilization and culture, in Roman literature and life, should be and can be, transmitted to the high-school pupil in the ninth and tenth grades? Just how can the archaeologist, by pictures and illustrations, aid in conveying to the fourteen-year old child the significance of the classical heritage and in enriching his understanding of it?

Involved with the development of criteria of content is the form of organization of the material selected. a) Should there be a broad topical investigation of this—social, political, economic problems? b) Should there be an historical order of presentation—kingdom, republic, empire? c) Should the Roman character—the salient *virtutes* appearing in changed form through the vicissitudes of generations—be made the basis of selection? d) Should the order be in terms of Roman practises and institutions? If so, such an order as obtains in books on private life is suggested: home, school, religion, politics, amusements—perhaps an expansion from home to empire.

All in all, what does Roman culture, with its Greek amplifications, amount to in its meaning to us? How can this be presented most effectively to high-school pupils? After that, there is the drastic and realistic question: how can the Latin Humanities, within the limits set by forms, vocabulary, syntax, visual materials, most effectively administer to the needs of the high-school pupil?

# NOTES

Contributions to this department in the form of brief objective notes should be sent direct to the editor, Oscar E. Nybakken, State University of Iowa, 111 Schaeffer Hall, Iowa City, Iowa.

## SERGIUS ORATA PIONEER OF RADIANT HEATING

IN RECENT years radiant heating—the system in which the floors, walls and ceilings themselves are made the heating units, usually by means of a concealed network of heated pipes—has become very popular. Most of the readers of this periodical will already be aware that this is not completely an innovation, that it is essentially the same heating as that employed in Roman baths and in other buildings in the northern part of the Empire. In the Roman buildings hot air was circulated through hollow spaces beneath the floors,<sup>1</sup> known as hypocausts, and at a later period also through pipes imbedded in walls and ceilings.

This note is not concerned with the technical details of radiant heating, ancient or modern. Its purpose is, rather, to give a little publicity to the almost forgotten person who introduced it to Italy. Gaius Sergius Orata, a native of Campania, suffered from no such obscurity, when, at the beginning of the first century before Christ, he invented what were called *balneae pensiles*, bath buildings or rooms heated by means of hypocausts.<sup>2</sup> It is safe to say that to him, through his invention, is to be credited the beginning of the great popularity of the Roman hot bath, a popularity which is attested by hundreds of incidental references in Roman literature. We have the word of the elder Pliny for the immense enthusiasm inspired by the new type of baths.<sup>3</sup> And it is not at all surprising. A very slight effort of the imagination is required to picture the difference radiant or hypocaust heating must have made in the atmosphere of those poorly ventilated, gloomy, crowded structures which had previously been heated by charcoal braziers.

The ancient evidence definitely attributes to Orata the invention of *balneae pensiles*. Whether this means that he is the inventor

of radiant heating or merely the first to employ it in bath structures, is something which cannot be decided for certain. The fact that the technical term in antiquity for the hollow floors was "hypocauston," a Greek term, makes plausible the suspicion that Orata made practical use of a Greek invention. On the other hand, the suggestion has been made that, since he was an inhabitant of Campania, his inspiration might have come from the use at Baiae of natural hot vapor to heat baths,<sup>4</sup> a practice which is mentioned by the elder Pliny and the younger Seneca.<sup>5</sup>

Our knowledge of the life and character of Sergius Orata is tantalizingly slight. He was a wealthy businessman, a contemporary of Lucius Crassus<sup>6</sup> the orator (consul 95 B.C.), and lived in the neighborhood of Baiae on or near the shore of the Lucrine Lake,<sup>7</sup> a body of salt water separated from the Bay of Puteoli by a narrow strip of land. There he raised fish in ponds, and, according to the elder Pliny, was the first to undertake the artificial cultivation of oysters,<sup>8</sup> probably in ponds connected with the lake.<sup>9</sup> The same writer tells us also that it was primarily because of him that Lucrine oysters became famous.<sup>10</sup> It was because of this interest in fish that he was given his cognomen;<sup>11</sup> the *aurata* or *orata*, gilthead,<sup>12</sup> was a very popular food fish, the best variety of which, according to Martial, fed on Lucrine oysters.<sup>13</sup> His one other known business enterprise was the buying and selling of estates. By equipping villas with *balneae pensiles* he was able to benefit himself through that invention.<sup>14</sup> His wealth and luxurious way of life came to be proverbial.

The distinguishing traits of character which appear in the tradition are a practical ingenuity, a shrewdness in business dealings, and an elegant and luxurious taste. His ingenuity has been adequately illustrated al-



ready. It did not fail to impress his contemporaries. Valerius Maximus reports a remark by Crassus in a case regarding public water rights to the effect that, if kept away from the Lucrine Lake, Orata would manage to find oysters on his roof tiles.<sup>15</sup> Another suit, mentioned by Cicero,<sup>16</sup> in which Orata was involved furnishes evidence of his shrewdness. In this case, made famous by the fact that the two leading orators of the day, Antonius and Crassus, appeared in it as advocates, Orata was suing because the bill of sale of an estate he had bought had omitted mention of the fact that a third party or parties possessed certain rights in the property. As Orata had owned the land previously, and must have been well aware of this circumstance, he was presumably merely attempting to obtain a rebate. The outcome of the trial is unknown, but the fact that Cicero had Orata's attorney, Crassus, discuss the case<sup>17</sup> would indicate that they were successful.

Orata is the first example in Valerius Maximus' work under the heading *De Luxuria et*

*Libidine*,<sup>18</sup> chosen, I should add, to illustrate the first of these qualities. To St. Augustine, following a lost description by Cicero, he was *homo ditissimus, amoenissimus, deliciosissimus, cui neque ad voluptatem quidquam defuit neque ad gratiam neque ad bonam integramque valetudinem*.<sup>19</sup> We should, however, allow for exaggeration or distortion in this part of the tradition, especially since the elder Pliny seems to have had this legend in mind when he assured his readers that Orata's interest in oysters stemmed from a desire for profit rather than for the gratification of his appetite (*nec gulae causa sed avaritiae*).<sup>20</sup>

What appears above is the extent of our knowledge regarding the career of Sergius Orata, Roman businessman. It is presented as a reminder that the book is not yet closed on Rome's contributions to our civilization and that not all the interesting Romans were generals and politicians.

J. HILTON TURNER

University of Vermont

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> See the description in Vitruvius, 5.10.2.

<sup>2</sup> Valerius Maximus, 9.1.1; Pliny, *N. H.*, 9.168; Macrobius, *Sat.*, 3.15.3. *Balneae pensiles* have occasionally been identified differently: for example, the Loeb translation of Pliny has "shower-baths" in the passage cited above. The justification for the statements made here is that Vitruvius in his description of the construction of a hypocaust (5.10.2) uses the expressions *suspensurae caldarium* and *suspensio*. Cicero (*Phil. fr.* 5.76 Mueller), clearly referring to Orata, says, *Primus balneola suspendit*.

<sup>3</sup> Pliny, *N. H.*, 26.15, (speaking of the work of the physician Asclepiades who arrived in Rome 91 B.C.) *tum primum pensili balnearum usu ad infinitum blandiente*; cf. Valerius Maximus, 9.1.1.

<sup>4</sup> S. Sgobbo, "Terme Flegree ed origine delle Terme romane," *Atti del I Congresso Nazionale di Studi Romani* 1 (1929), 186-194.

<sup>5</sup> Pliny, *N. H.*, 31.5; Seneca, *Nat. Quaest.*, 3.24.3.

<sup>6</sup> See below.

<sup>7</sup> Pliny, *N. H.*, 9.168; Macrobius, *Sat.*, 3.15.3; Val. Max., 9.1.1.

<sup>8</sup> *N. H.*, 9.168. On oysters in antiquity see A. C. Andrews, "Oysters as a food in Greece and Rome," *THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL* 43 (1948), 299-303 with the references to be found there. The reader should note, however, that I am not entirely in agreement with what Andrews says about Orata. See notes 9 and 15 below.

<sup>9</sup> Or, as Andrews (*loc. cit.*) suggests, by damming off a part of the Bay of Puteoli. This, I presume, would make him the creator of the Lucrine Lake. My suggestion

is based on the fact that Pliny continues with a discussion of artificial ponds for various types of fish, apparently using *vivarium*, the term employed in section 168, as a synonym for *piscina*. *Piscinae* for oysters and sea fish are described by Columella, *De R. R.*, 8.16-17. For some modern experiments in artificial production of oysters in enclosed sea-ponds see J. H. Orton, *Oyster Biology and Oyster Culture* (London, 1937) 190-193.

<sup>10</sup> *N. H.*, 9.168-169.

<sup>11</sup> Varro, *De R. R.*, 3.3.10; cf. Columella, *De R. R.*, 8.16.5; Macrobius, *Sat.*, 3.15.2. Festus, 182M, says that the name came from his habit of wearing two large gold rings.

<sup>12</sup> The scientific name is *chrysophrys aurata* or *sparus aurata*. The name comes from a gold marking on the head. For further information see Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, s. v. Goldbrasse.

<sup>13</sup> Martial, 13.90.

<sup>14</sup> Pliny, *N. H.*, 9.168.

<sup>15</sup> Val. Max., 9.1.1. This remark is not to be attributed to Cicero as reported by Andrews (*loc. cit.*), although it is very probable that the story reached Valerius through a lost dialogue of Cicero, the *Hortensius*; see Cicero, *Phil. fr.* 5.76 Mueller.

<sup>16</sup> *De Off.*, 3.67; *De Orat.*, 1. 178.

<sup>17</sup> *De Orat.*, 1.178.

<sup>18</sup> Val. Max., 9.1.1.

<sup>19</sup> St. Augustine, *De Beata Vita*, 26 (included as part of Cicero, *Phil. fr.* 5.76 Mueller).

<sup>20</sup> Pliny, *N. H.*, 9.168.

O. HENRY'S "SHAKER OF ATTIC SALT"<sup>1</sup>

ENOUGH has been written of O. Henry as the "literary Haroun-al-Raschid of Bagdad-on-the-Subway" to establish conclusively the influence of the Arabian Nights on his writing. Less has been said of his debt to the Classics, the source of some 450 clearly recognizable allusions in a total of nearly three hundred short stories and articles.

The majority of these allusions have a serious intent, but approximately seventy-five aim at humor, with varying degrees of success.

English words are given Latin case endings. A Pittsburgh millionaire is an example of "Midas Americanus."<sup>2</sup> A pretty girl is a highly-prized specimen of the "racibus humanus."<sup>3</sup> A team of outsize coach horses are "royal elephantibus truckhorsibus."<sup>4</sup> Somewhat dated is "furor rubberendi," a madness "for staring with fishy eyes . . . at the hook baited with calamity."<sup>5</sup> Best of this type is "optikos needleorum camelibus—or rich man's disease."<sup>6</sup>

O. Henry's fondness for the pun finds a wide range in the Classics. "Fudge for your Prax Italys!" one of his 36-25-42 cloak models scolds. "Bring one of your Venus Anno Dominus down to Cohen's. . . ." "They said he was a ringer for the statue they call Herr Mees. . . . Some German anarchist, I suppose."<sup>8</sup> "His hair waved a little bit like the statue of the dinkus-thrower in the vacation at Rome."<sup>9</sup> Dr. Waugh-hoo remarks, "I'm not a regular pre-ordained disciple of S. Q. Lapius."<sup>10</sup>

A young Texas lover frequently swam his "Hell's Point."<sup>11</sup> A Texas jurist becomes one of the Seven Wonders of the World: "The Colossus of Roads."<sup>12</sup> Two intimate friends "had days of Damon and nights of Pythias."<sup>13</sup>

Almost past credulity, even for O. Henry, is "hippopotamus" for "Peloponnesus."<sup>14</sup>

The influence of O. Henry's brief sojourn in Central America is seen in his fondness for the lotus. The Hotel Lotus is a summer resort hotel; a young man on vacation "ate in the Lotus and of its patronym."<sup>15</sup> There is a series

of puns on lotus and lettuce. An Irishman, long in the tropics and bereft of any ambition, explains that he is a "lettuce-eater."<sup>16</sup> Later he recites:

Forgotten are our friends that we have left behind:

In the hollow-lettuce land we will live and lay reclined.<sup>17</sup>

Continuing in the Homeric vein, "The smiles of women . . . is the whirlpool of Squills and Chalybeates, into which vortex the good ship Friendship is often drawn and dismembered."<sup>18</sup>

O. Henry at his punning best:

For exemplification take your Madam O'Brien—  
—que magnifica! She is one goddess—one Juno—  
—what you call one ox-eyed Juno!"

Now Mr. Kelley was a wit . . .

"Sure," he said with a grin, "but you mean a peroxide Juno, don't you?"

Mrs. O'Brien heard, and lifted her auriferous head.<sup>19</sup>

The fare of the gods is noted: "He'd come pretty close to making a meal on the amber that the gods eat on Mount Olympia,"<sup>20</sup> and "I thought that the gods drank only vanilla on Mount Catawampus."<sup>21</sup>

Religion plays its part in "by way of liberation . . . to the gods"<sup>22</sup> and "after thus doing umbrage to the heathen diabetes."<sup>23</sup> The majesty of Jupiter Pluvius suffers considerably in "Juniper Aquarius was sure turning on the water plugs on Mount Amphibious."<sup>24</sup>

Latin American influence also emerges in the puns connected with Croesus. Beginning rather mildly with "John W. Croesus,"<sup>25</sup> O. Henry passes from "we are comparatively wealthy as greasers"<sup>26</sup> to a labeling of a wealthy Texan as an "oil Grease-us."<sup>27</sup>

The actual puns on Latin and Greek words are not numerous. Greek appears only on two occasions: "I know 'em (women) from Alfred to Omaha,"<sup>28</sup> and in three puns on "polis" for "police" in "by order of the polis commissioner," "the ruling of the polis," and the "polis department."<sup>29</sup>

Latin is more popular. Familiar Latin phrases which have become virtually English are frequently garbled or misused. Examples are "adjourn sine qua non,"<sup>30</sup> "requiescat in hoc signo,"<sup>31</sup> "sine qua grata,"<sup>32</sup> "non compis vocis,"<sup>33</sup> and "E pluribus nihil."<sup>34</sup>

Other types are more pointed. A newspaper office is a "sanctum asinorum,"<sup>35</sup> and by the same token the office of a public stenographer is a "sanctum remingtonium."<sup>36</sup> Two fugitives alight from a train in Arizona, happy to return once more to "terra cotta,"<sup>37</sup> perhaps true in that climate. Commended for examination in context is "I'll fry some fat out of this ignis fatuus. . . ."<sup>38</sup> The uproar in a railroad station evokes "Ad noisyam."<sup>39</sup> Broadway, as the gathering place for the rural element, is, for O. Henry, the "Yappian Way."<sup>40</sup> O. Henry's passing comment on the Broadway street cars which fail to stop for passengers is apt: "rapid transit gloria mundi."<sup>41</sup>

More elaborately linguistic is "Mr. Brunelli, being impressionable and a Latin (sic), fell to conjugating the verb 'amare' with Katy in the objective case,"<sup>42</sup> though purists would of course prefer "accusative." It is doubtful that anyone but an author as sure of his audience (and publisher) would dare record what must be the most universal of bilingual puns in English: "(he) jumped off the roof on a spot where he now requiescates in pieces!"<sup>43</sup>

Enough to make Vergil shudder is "fussily decency Averni—which means it's an easy slide from the street faker's dry goods box to a desk in Wall Street."<sup>44</sup>

It is left to O. Henry to provide the translation to end all translations of Caesar's opening lines: "Omnes Gallia in tres partes divisa est: we will need all of our gall in devising means to tree them parties."<sup>45</sup>

"Then, to Helvetia" with the whole thing, "says I."<sup>46</sup>

EDWARD C. ECHOLS

University of Alabama

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> "The Country of Illusion" in *The Trimmed Lamp*.
- <sup>2</sup> "Conscience in Art" in *The Gentle Graft*.
- <sup>3</sup> "Buried Treasure" in *Options*.
- <sup>4</sup> "The Fifth Wheel" in *Strictly Business*.
- <sup>5</sup> "A Comedy in Rubber" in *The Voice of the City*.
- <sup>6</sup> "A Night in New Arabia" in *Strictly Business*.
- <sup>7</sup> "Extradited From Bohemia" in *The Voice of the City*.
- <sup>8</sup> "Next to Reading Matter" in *Roads of Destiny*.
- <sup>9</sup> "The Ethics of Pig" in *The Gentle Graft*.
- <sup>10</sup> "Jeff Peters As a Personal Magnet" in *The Gentle Graft*.
- <sup>11</sup> "Hearts and Crosses" in *Heart of the West*.
- <sup>12</sup> "Queries and Answers" in *Rolling Stones*.
- <sup>13</sup> "Telemachus, Friend" in *Heart of the West*.
- <sup>14</sup> "The Day Resurgent" in *Strictly Business*.
- <sup>15</sup> "Transients in Arcadia" in *The Voice of the City*.
- <sup>16</sup> "The Shamrock and the Palm" in *Cabbages and Kings*.
- <sup>17</sup> *Ibid.* See also "The Lotus and the Bottle" in *Cabbages and Kings*.
- <sup>18</sup> "Telemachus, Friend" in *Heart of the West*.
- <sup>19</sup> "The Gold That Glittered" in *Strictly Business*.
- <sup>20</sup> "Hostages to Momus" in *The Gentle Graft*.
- <sup>21</sup> "He Also Serves" in *Options*.
- <sup>22</sup> "The Octopus Marooned" in *The Gentle Graft*.
- <sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>25</sup> "The Sphinx Apple" in *Heart of the West*.
- <sup>26</sup> "The Chair of Philanthromathematics" in *The Gentle Graft*.
- <sup>27</sup> "Seats of the Haughty" in *Heart of the West*.
- <sup>28</sup> "The Ransom of Mack" in *Heart of the West*.
- <sup>29</sup> "The City of Dreadful Night" in *The Voice of the City*.
- <sup>30</sup> "Hostages to Momus" in *The Gentle Graft*.
- <sup>31</sup> "The Call of the Tame" in *Strictly Business*.
- <sup>32</sup> "The Man Higher Up," in *The Gentle Graft*.
- <sup>33</sup> "The Snow Man" in *Waifs and Strays*.
- <sup>34</sup> "A Little Talk About Mobs" in *Waifs and Strays*.
- <sup>35</sup> "The Clarion Call" in *The Voice of the City*.
- <sup>36</sup> "The Enchanted Profile" in *Roads of Destiny*.
- <sup>37</sup> "The Man Higher Up" in *The Gentle Graft*.
- <sup>38</sup> "Shearing the Wolf" in *The Gentle Graft*.
- <sup>39</sup> "When the Train Comes In" in *The Houston (Tex.) Daily Post*, for December 16, 1895.
- <sup>40</sup> "Modern Rural Sports" in *The Gentle Graft*.
- <sup>41</sup> "A Philistine in Bohemia" in *The Voice of the City*.
- <sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>43</sup> "The Chair of Philanthromathematics" in *The Gentle Graft*.
- <sup>44</sup> "A Tempered Wind" in *The Gentle Graft*.
- <sup>45</sup> "The Phonograph and the Graft" in *Cabbages and Kings*.
- <sup>46</sup> "The Chair of Philanthromathematics" in *The Gentle Graft*.

## Trends and Events

—A department sponsored by the Committee on Educational Policies of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South.

THE OMINOUS remarks issuing from the office of the U.S. Commissioner of Education to the effect that "the youth adjusted to life is adjusted to his job" and that, therefore, most students should be prepared for adjustment as mechanics, farmers, tradespeople, and housewives (cf. *CJ*, February, 1947, p. 292; also "Lanx Satura," April, 1947, p. 425) would not seem to be corroborated by statements issuing from a commission of equal, or higher, stature also reporting from Washington, D.C. Although the President's Commission on Higher Education and its six pamphlets on *Higher Education for American Democracy* (Washington, December 1947) may be concerned with a different educational level, the problem is not altered in the slightest whereas the proposed solution is decidedly different.

Volume I of *Higher Education for American Democracy* on "Establishing the Goals" is the most relevant to our own position in the educational field. Without minimizing the fact that we must all, somehow, have a job and be adjusted to it, the President's Commission is even more concerned with the fact that education must also be a preparation for national and world citizenship. "Modern man," says the report (I, 17), "needs to sense the sweep of world history in order to see his own civilization in the context of other cultures. We need to perceive the rich advantages of cultural diversity." These statements, to be sure, are supplemented by others which stress the need of knowing other peoples and lands not directly affected by the classical and Hebraic-Christian traditions, but the underlying thesis is not thereby changed.

Chapter III of "Establishing the Goals" deals with education for free men or, as we have long known it, with liberal education. In this chapter it is noted that for half a century and more the liberal arts curriculum has been "expanding and disintegrating to an astounding degree" (p. 47) and that present

programs are not contributing adequately to the quality of students' adult lives either as workers or as citizens because the unity of liberal education has been splintered by overspecialization. It is pertinent to note here that this process is quite as apparent in the high schools as in colleges and universities, and that the President's Commission is emphatically inclined toward curbing this trend which the Studebaker Commission would seem to wish to extend.

Among measures to combat the trend toward specialization the President's Report recommends training in understanding the ideas of others and expressing one's own effectively, for "Experience indicates the close relationship that exists between thought and the symbols that express thought. Clear and precise thinking requires good language habits" (p. 52 f.). The place of literature is also emphasized by such statements as, "By means of great novels, poems, plays, and essays one can participate vicariously in many events that one's own life does not encompass and so can gain as in no other way, imaginative insight into the emotions, drives, and aspirations of one's fellow men. Literature . . . is an avenue of communication with the great minds and the great souls of yesterday and of today" (p. 54 f.).

The excerpts thus far are of concern to us chiefly by allusion. What, specifically, does the Report say about the place in education of the classical languages and literatures? The single specific reference is this: "Ability to think and reason, within the limits set by one's mental capacity, should be the distinguishing mark of an educated person. The conception long prevailed in our Western tradition that Latin and Greek, mathematics, and formal logic were the most effective instruments for developing the power to think. These disciplines can be made to contribute richly to that end, but so can many others. Development of the reasoning faculty, of the habit of critical appraisal, should be the constant and pervasive aim of all education, in every field and at every level (p. 57).

The recent months, as has been expected, have been months for the re-evaluation and exposition of the place of education in the



modern world and of the kind of education that shall be offered. If the world were in a more stable condition we might hazard a guess that the tendencies toward specialization, vocationalism, materialism would be dominant. But with things as they are it is the specialists themselves who protest most vigorously against such tendencies and who affirm, again, the imperative necessity for the liberal, humanistic training. The urgency of extending our intellectual horizons beyond that of the Western tradition need not cause undue alarm. It is well to remember that the first

great synthesis of the East and West occurred when the ancient Greeks came in contact with oriental civilizations; that this synthesis was continued, unbroken, by the expansion of the Roman world; that a fresh and profound impetus was added in the 13th century of our era; and that, finally, the study of the classical languages and literatures—supplemented, perhaps, with a revitalized orientation toward this synthesis—can contribute appreciably toward the educational goals which our more serious and enlightened leaders have in view.  
H.C.M.

### —Current Events

## WAGENER NEW HEAD OF CAMWS

A. PELZER WAGENER of the College of William and Mary was elected president of CAMWS for 1948-49 at the annual meeting held in Milwaukee on April 1, 2, and 3. With over 370 persons in attendance, the gathering, under the local chairmanship of the Rev. George E. Ganss, S.J., was one of the largest in the history of the association.

The new president, who succeeds Dorance S. White of the University of Iowa, has a long record of service to the association. In addition to being a trustee of Eta Sigma Phi, Professor Wagener has served on the executive committee of CAMWS, and was the organizer and chairman of the Committee on the Present Status of Classical Education, predecessor of the Committee on Educational Policies. To serve with the new president, Mrs. Lillian R. Hadley of Chicago was elected first vice-president, and Gerald F. Else was made a member of the executive committee for a four-year term, succeeding John L. Heller. William C. Korfmacher was re-elected secretary-treasurer, and Professor White remains a member of the executive committee for a year, *ex-officio*.

The Friday afternoon program, devoted to the work of the Committee on Educational Policies, was one of the main features of the meeting. Substantial progress, with a schedule of research projects for the coming year (see a preliminary report on page 485 of this issue) as part of the formulation of a two-year study

program based on Vergil. W. C. Seyfert, principal of the Laboratory Schools, University of Chicago, presented an approach to education in terms of "problem-solving," with the emphasis in Latin on linguistic skills and acquaintance with basic issues in our cultural tradition. Stephen M. Corey, of the University of Chicago, emphasized the need of individualized instruction, with ultimate values issuing from action and practice. It was announced that the afternoon's material would be presented in organized form in *THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL* for November, 1948. B. L. Ullman of the University of North Carolina presided.

Two of the most interesting features of the meeting were of a dramatic nature. At the luncheon meeting, members of Sigma Pi Rho chapter of Milwaukee State Teachers College presented a puppet dramatization of the Romulus and Remus story with Latin dialogue, and, at the banquet, freshman Latin students of Mount Mary College gave a dance interpretation of Orpheus and Eurydice, set to von Gluck's music. The ballet was created by Miss Diana Shane, who took the role of Orpheus.

The presidential address, read by Professor White, dealt with the role of the Classics in a program of general education. The speaker pointed out that the major objectives of general education had been stated as far back as in the Classical Investigation of 1924.

# THE TEACHER'S SCRAPBOOK

*A department for the discussion of classroom theory and practise, and the exchange of practical teaching ideas, conducted under the direction of the Committee of Educational Policy of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South. Teachers are urged to forward items of general interest based on their own experience to the Editorial Representative of the Committee, Mrs. Ruth F. Joedicke, Mary Institute, Clayton 5, Missouri.*

## THE AURAL-ORAL APPROACH TO CAESAR

Helen O. Ault

Patrick Henry Junior High School, Cleveland, Ohio

FROM THE POINT of view of class interest and enthusiasm as well as of achievement of immediate and ultimate aims, the aural-oral approach to Caesar is eminently successful. There is no doubt that it puts life into a class, that it is mentally stimulating, that it concentrates attention, and that it develops an active command of the language, thus enabling a pupil to gain satisfaction and power through his daily work.

Since the natural approach to language is through the ear, the teacher presents the new lesson in Caesar orally. The pupils' books are closed while she paraphrases Caesar's long involved lines in short simple Latin sentences using previously learned vocabulary and constructions. When she finds through easy Latin questions that the pupils have grasped the thought, she introduces the new word or phrase into her sentence, substituting the unknown for the known. In the same way she avoids confronting the class with a new construction until she has made the thought clear by stating it in the syntax already known to the pupils. Then rewording her sentence she restates the thought, this time using the new construction. With the problems of vocabulary and structure in a difficult sentence solved, the teacher's simplified statements have served their purpose, and the pupils may now be given the sentence as it stands in the Caesar text.

The teacher, however, is concerned with

more than paraphrasing and simplifying, for this procedure may very easily meet with merely passive acceptance on the part of the class. She wishes to bring the pupil into active participation in the work, to enable him to acquire a command of the language. To do this she makes constant use of short pertinent Latin questions carefully designed not only to test at every step the pupil's comprehension of the material presented, but also to cause him to use the new words and constructions himself, and to develop his ability to express his ideas clearly in Latin, for she knows that speaking is another important step in the chain of learning.

When the pupil has answered the question satisfactorily in oral Latin, he writes the answer on the board where it is critically examined by the class and the teacher, and, if corrections are needed, he makes them. By this time the new words and forms have meaning for the pupil. He has heard them, thought about them, spoken them, written them, and seen them. In this intensive reciprocal class work the way has been paved for his preparation of the next day's work with comparative ease and complete comprehension. As a further aid in his preparation the pupil receives a set of typewritten Latin questions on the text, more difficult than those just used, and so phrased usually that he can not answer them in the exact words and forms in his book, questions to test his

mastery of the Caesar material assigned for the next day's recitation.

When the class meets the following day, two or three pupils may be asked to open their Caesar books and read the assigned selection aloud. Then with all books closed the questions on the day's assignment are asked by the teacher, the answers given orally and, if approved, written on the board by the pupils. These are criticized by the class, and all errors corrected by those who made them. More often than not this phase involves analyzing new grammatical principles and reviewing difficult old ones; and grammar becomes functional. The work has now been manipulated twice in class, reenforced, we hope, by outside study, and the pupil has had ample opportunity to assimilate and apply what he has learned. With the presentation of the new lesson the circle is completed.

As an example for the teaching of Caesar by the aural-oral method I have selected for paraphrasing a passage from Gray and Jenkins, *Latin for Today*, p. 343, 1.13, Book I, chapter 22 of Caesar's *Gallic Wars*. The questions listed are those used the second day in class after they have been studied at home as part of the pupils' assignment. These will necessarily vary in complexity according to the ability of the class.

#### GRAY AND JENKINS

PRĪMĀ LŪCE, cum summus mōns ā Labiēnō tenērētur, atque ipse ab hostium castris nōn longius mille et quīngentis passibus abesset, neque (ut postea ex captivis comperit) aut ipsius adventus aut Labiēni cognitus esset, Cōnsidius ad eum accurrit. Dicit montem nōn ā Labiēnō sed ab hostibus tenērī; id sē ā Gallicis armis atque insignibus cognōvisse. Caesar suās cōpiās in proximum collem subducit, aciem instruit.

Labiēnus, cui Caesar imperāverat nē proelium committeret, nisi ipsius cōpie prope castra visae essent, ut undique ūnō tempore in hostēs impetus fieret, monte occupātō, nostrōs exspectābat proeliōque abstinēbat. Multō dēnique diē per explorātōrēs Caesar cognōvit et montem ā suis tenērī et Helvētiōs castra mōvisse et Cōnsidium

timōre perterritum quod nōn vīdisset prō visō sibi renūntiāvisse. Eō diē, quō intervallō cōnsuēverat hostēs sequitur et milia passuum tria ab eōrum castris castra pōnit.

#### PARAPHRASED

PRĪMĀ LŪCE summus mōns ā Labiēnō tenēbātur. Caesar ipse ab hostium castris nōn longē aberat. Inter Caesarem et hostēs erat spatium aut intervallum circiter mille et quīngentōrum passuum. (If quīngentōrum is a new word, explain: Centum et centum sunt ducentī, ae, a; ducentī et ducentī et centum passūs sunt quīngentī passūs.) Caesar nōn longius mille et quīngentis passibus ab hostium castris aberat. Neque Caesaris adventus neque adventus Labiēni cognitus erat. (Explain] Caesar paene ad hostium castra vēnerat, sed hostēs cum neque viderant neque audīverant. Hostēs nōn cognōverant Caesarem advēnisse. Eius adventus ab hostibus nōn cognitus erat.) Id Caesar postea ex captivis audīvit, cognōvit. Postea ex captivis id comperit. Eō tempore—cum summus mōns ā Labiēnō tenērētur, cum Caesar ab hostium castris nōn longius mille et quīngentis passibus abesset, cum adventus Caesaris et Labiēni nōn cognitus esset—prīmā lūce Cōnsidius ad Caesarem accurrit. Dicit, "Mōns nōn ā Labiēnō sed ab hostibus tenētur. A Gallicis armis atque insignibus id cognōvi." (Explain: Insignia sunt signa aut ōrnamēta in signis et in galeis.) Itaque Caesar suās cōpiās in proximum collem subducit. (Explain: Ab inferiōre parte ad superiōrem partem collis Caesar suās cōpiās dūcit. The teacher draws a hillside on the board and illustrates the action as she says subducit.) Tum aciem instruit (cōstituit, parat).

Caesar Labiēnō imperāverat nē statim proelium committeret (nē primō cum hostibus pugnāret). Dixerat, "Exspectā adventum meārum cōpiārum prope castra. Tum committe proelium." Caesar id imperāverat ut Rōmāni undique ūnō tempore in hostēs impetum facerent. Itaque Labiēnus, monte captō (montem cēperat et) nostrōs exspectābat et proeliō abstinēbat (nōndum pugnābat). Tandem decimā aut ūndecimā hōrā diē, prope finem diē, multō dēnique diē, per

explorātōrēs Caesar vērum cognōvit. Cognōvit (aut comperit) montem ā suīs (virīs) tenērī et Helvētiōs castra mōvisse. Cōnsidius nūntius bonus nōn fuerat. Dixerat, "Hostēs montem tenentēs vīdī." Cōnsidius, autem, hostēs montem tenentēs nōn viderat. Sic Cōnsidius timōre perterritus Caesarī id quod nōn vīdisset, prō vīsō, renūntiāverat. Eō diē Caesar hostēs sequitur. In itinere Caesar nōn propior hostibus erat neque longius ab hostibus quam antea iter fēcit. Spatium inter Caesarem et hostēs erat idem atque aliīs diēbus fuerat. Caesar eōdem intervallō hostēs sequitur atque cotidiē eōs secūtus erat. Eō intervallō quō cōnsueverat (mōs ipsius fuerat) hostēs sequitur. Milia passuum tria ab eōrum castris castra pōnit.

#### QUESTIONS

1. Quis summum montem tenēbat? Quō tempore?
2. Quam longē Caesar ipse ab hostium castris aberat?
3. Quid hostēs nōn cognōverant?
4. Quō modō id ā Caesare comperitur?
5. Quō tempore Cōnsidius ad Caesarem accurrit?
6. Quid Cōnsidius dē hostibus dicit?
7. Quō modō Cōnsidius id cognōvit?
8. Quō igitur Caesar suās cōpiās subducit? Quid ibi facit?
9. Quā dē causā Labiēnus proeliō abstīnēbat?
10. Quō cōsiliō Caesar Labiēnō imperāverat ut ipsius cōpiās expectāret?
11. Quid Caesar multō diē dē monte cognōvit?
12. Quid dēnique dē hostibus comperit?
13. A quibus eae rēs Caesarī nūntiatae sunt?
14. Cūr Cōnsidius quod nōn vīdisset prō vīsō renūntiāverat?
15. Quō Caesar eō diē iter facit? Quō intervallō?
16. Quam longē ab hostibus castra pōnit?

When a pupil has been trained from his early days in Latin to hear and grasp a Latin question, and to formulate a correct reply to it, he will find it an easy step to aural-oral work in Caesar. If he has not been accustomed

to this method, he will require a longer time to work out his answers, but, although his progress at first will be a little slower, daily practice will steadily increase his proficiency. When he knows that he will be required to answer questions in Latin on the assignment, he learns to read not only for content, but also for the phraseology to express the content.

Experience convinces one that a pupil participating in the aural-oral method in Caesar can nowise be a passive member of the class. He is an active coworker whose realization of and confidence in his own ability grows with his daily achievement. Such a pupil is unlikely to be guilty of surreptitiously leafing through the vocabulary, mechanically looking up an English word for a Latin word to be given back to the teacher parrot-fashion in the guise of translation. He is doing something far better. He is speaking Latin daily, and he enjoys doing it. It gives him a sense of power. He is also engaging in composition everyday and that composition is directly related to the reading material. He is constantly being challenged to use all of his faculties with alertness and discrimination. He is living through a meaningful experience the quality and significance of which are reflected in his interest and daily progress.

#### DE LIBRO ANIMALIUM

*With Apologies to Anonymous*

I BECAME so interested in "Liber Animalium" as it appeared each month in THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL that I shared the copies with my eight Vergil pupils, who were vividly impressed by the clever little friends who paraded through their imaginations.

One day last May one of the group said, "There have been enough animal stories now for each of us to translate one, with one of us left to type. We can make a real book of animals." The idea was received with much enthusiasm but, as often happens toward the end of the school year, we had less and less time to do the things we would like to do, and our well-laid plans were interrupted.



However, on the day of the Vergil examination I was delighted to be handed an adorable "Liber Animalium," a cardboard booklet containing *Felis Catus*, *Laus Gallinae*, *Rex Bestiarum*, *Simius Iste*, *Ridiculus Mus*, *Mustela Mephitica*, and *Ostrea Infelix* typed from THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL with an English translation on the opposite page: The Smart Cat, In Praise of the Hen, The King of Beasts, Through the Looking Glass, The Silly Mouse, The Obnoxious Skunk, and The Unhappy Oyster.

The artist of the group had illustrated cleverly and artistically in colors, at the bottom of all the pages and well onto the typing, impressive little scenes from the stories. For instance, the skunk is seen around the wigwams of the Indians and at the shore to greet the Mayflower; the tomcat is walking the fence at night while the little kittens play around; the unhappy oyster is dabbling one

long finger in the water as a fish swims by followed by little ones reminding him that he never knew a mother's love.

I believe Anonymous would be happy to know that three boys and five girls were sufficiently interested in his stories to spend hours translating, typing and illustrating this artistic booklet. If you are interested in seeing the illustrations to which my words cannot do justice, I shall be glad to lend the booklet to you. It is a student, teacher-less project. Translation can be improved, typing can be improved; nevertheless, it is a real tribute to the value of THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL which is so very interesting these days. My pupils enjoy The Scrapbook, Liber Animalium, and many articles on archaeology. Their teacher enjoys it all.

ELIZABETH SMITH

Frankfort, Kentucky

### "WE SEE BY THE PAPERS"

(Continued from Page 473)

flicting conclusions, including the one that "if it hadn't been for the Great Books Foundation, nobody would have heard of Socrates anyhow."

IN PERUSING TIME's issue of March 29 we found that week's news well sprinkled with reminders of today's heritage in the past. A review of a book on polar exploration, *To the Arctic!* by Jeannette Mirsky, carries the suggestion that the Arctic "may become what the Mediterranean was to the ancients—the natural connecting route between the principal centers of civilization." And there is an account of the voyage of Pytheas of Massilia, a contemporary of Alexander the Great, who passed Britain, the Orkneys, the Shetlands and Iceland, until his progress was halted by limitless ice. The Religion department, discussing the evidence for Communion in the early church, quotes from an historical account of the arrest of Christians in Cirta in 303 by Munatius Felix, high priest of the emperor. A want-ad from the London TIMES is quoted as asking for "well-educated

young men" to learn the work of steeple jacks: "There is no reason why we can't have men who talk like Socrates and work like Hercules." One who answered the ad was an archaeologist. A half-page photograph accompanying the account of the forth-coming election in Italy gives a lurid view of a sea of faces, apparently a night meeting of communist sympathizers, with the ruins of the Basilica of Constantine looming in the background.

WITH REGARD to the question of the antiquity of school or college Latin clubs which was raised in this department in October and again in January, we now have a letter from Miss C. Eileen Donoghue of the high school in Bloomfield, N. J., stating that the Latin Club there was first organized October 23, 1906. This would appear to make the club two months older than that of Marshall College. Bloomfield gets the palm, and there it will remain, unless some other club can contest the issue again when CJ Vol. 44 begins to appear.

W. C. S.

# BOOK REVIEWS

## THE GREEK ANTHOLOGY

HUTTON, JAMES, *The Greek Anthology in France and in the Latin Writers of the Netherlands to the Year 1800* (Cornell Studies in Classical Philology, Number 28): Ithaca, New York, Cornell University Press (1946). Pp. ix+822. \$5.00.

IN THIS BOOK, Professor Hutton has carried on the project announced in *The Greek Anthology in Italy* (1935), of setting up, in as much detail as possible, the Continental background for a future study of the Anthology in English literature. At the same time he has provided a work complete in itself, and a worthy companion to his previous volume. The reasons for undertaking so extensive a study are stated in the preface to the present work (p. vii):

We wish not merely to know that such and such a theme used by a modern writer came to him ultimately from a classical source, but to know precisely where he found it and in what shape. . . . Particularly with respect to Greek themes, at a time when nearly all writers found them attractive and only some knew Greek, dependence upon intermediaries, commonly upon the modern Latinists, was almost the rule. If, then, all the descendants of a given theme could be called together and compared, we might with considerable assurance assign to each its position in the genealogy; but such perfection being hardly attainable, the best we can do is to proceed in the order of time and make our collection as large as possible as we go. In this way one will have the satisfaction of seeing a considerable number of relationships spring to light, as it were, spontaneously.

Mr. Hutton's "best" is very good indeed; and the volume deserves warm commendation, not only for its sound scholarship and meticulous attention to detail, but for the discriminating comment that makes so many literary relationships "spring to light." The book follows the plan of the earlier volume: an introduction, outlining general trends,

with specific mention of notable incidents and important names; a central portion (here divided into three sections), giving a brief account of each author and his work; a register, listing, under the divisions of the Palatine Anthology, the translations, imitations, and allusions noticed in the volume; and a full index. Throughout the book, connections with Italy are kept before the reader's mind. We see Erasmus in Venice, consorting with the pioneer editors of the Anthology, and then bringing out a second edition of his own *Adagia*, in which (in marked contrast to the first) he draws heavily on Greek epigrams. We read the letter of the first professor of Greek in Paris, telling of the "black market" price that French dealers were charging for the Aldine Anthology. We find writers of France and the Netherlands, in their search for material for poetry, turning again and again to the reshaped Latin versions of the Anthology by Italian poets. Sometimes we can actually follow a theme through several mutations: a simple four-line dedication in Greek (A.P.6.53), "imitated" in Latin by Navagero, adapted in French by Ronsard, and finally emerging ("liberated," to use Mr. Hutton's own word) in the exquisite lyric of Du Bellay beginning "A vous, troppe legere."

Mr. Hutton makes it clear that the history of the Anthology in France and the Low Countries follows the same general lines as in Italy. At the same time, one feels a greater weight of seriousness and of scholarship in the north: perhaps a more extensive use of the Anthology in schools, as a "reader" and as a model for verse composition; certainly a greater concern with supplying collections from the Anthology that should be suitable for schoolboys. The very names of the men in France and the Netherlands who are interested in the Anthology read like the index of Sandys' *History of Classical Scholarship*: Badius, Beza, Casaubon, Lambinus, Scaliger,

Gruter, Lipsius, Vossius. The commentary of Brodeau, the great edition of Estienne ("omnium fere notissima"), and the metrical translation of the entire Anthology by Grotius, were all tremendous undertakings, with far-reaching effects; and the discovery at Heidelberg by Saumaise of the Palatine manuscript, with the complete text, revolutionized men's conceptions of the Anthology.

In France, too, we find certain new developments. The custom (already followed in Italy) of supplying multiple versions of a single epigram, is extended in France, and reaches a high point in Estienne's production of 106 differing versions of the last couplet of A.P. 6.76. French poets, like poets in Italy, turn the epigrams into madrigals and sonnets, but with a special fondness for the latter form, and an insistence, in critical discussions, on the equivalence of sonnet and epigram. The *vœu* is developed as a definite literary form. Translations of Greek epigrams are paired off, so as to suggest the *touche* and *contretouche* of fencers; or, if the Anthology does not provide both elements of the pair, the French poet himself supplies either the first or the second part. The variations on Greek themes, as practiced by French writers of the 16th century, form perhaps the most interesting feature of Mr. Hutton's book. These Frenchmen would certainly have sympathized with Roxane when, in answer to Christian's "Je t'aime," she responded: "C'est le thème. Brodez, brodez."

### Criticism in France

CRITICISM plays a more important rôle in the history of the Anthology in France than it does south of the Alps. We find comments on the melody of the Greek epigram and on its use of hyperbole for satiric effects; on its naïveté as compared with the wittier type of epigram developed by Martial—a point of view that finds expression in Balzac's declaration that "ny Paulus Silentarius, ny Agathias Scholasticus, ny Palladas, ny Leonidas, ny Antipater, ne valent point notre amy de Bilbilis," and in Boileau's statement that the epigram

N'est souvent qu'un bon mot de deux rimes orné;

and at last, with the return to Hellenism marked by Gluck's operas on Greek themes and by the exaltation of the Plutarchan hero, we find a French critic recognizing the naïveté of the Greeks as "le point de perfection de tous les arts et de chaque genre dans tous les arts."

For the reader who has time to browse, there are many more interesting details in Mr. Hutton's book: the *marginalia* in an early printed edition of the Anthology, representing notes on lectures by Turnèbe; the collection of verse translations made by Jan Casteels in an interleaved copy of the Basel edition of 1549; the use of epigrams from the Anthology, not merely to illuminate the text of Horace and Lucretius, Pindar and Hesiod, but to illustrate Classical mythology, ancient athletics, and ancient music, to support legal opinion, and to provide puzzles for mathematicians. There is an appeal to the imagination in the footnote telling of Daniel Heinsius' purchase, at the sale of Scaliger's library, of Scaliger's copy of the Anthology, and in the account of Ronsard, working first over the rather colorless epigrams that he had read in school, and then years later, discovering for himself the love-poems of the seventh book of Planudes' Anthology, with their wealth of suggestion for his pen. Mr. Hutton's analysis of La Fontaine's fable, "Le Rat et l'Huitre," lets us see the poet turning the pages of Alciati's *Emblemata*, coming upon the illustration of A.P. 9.86, with its scene laid on the seashore, and therefore combining Horace's fable of the mouse who traveled far from home and the motif of the mouse caught in an oyster shell—with a double moral to point the tale. It is amusing to read Voltaire's refashioning of A.P. 11.237—the French equivalent of:

The man recovered from the bite;  
The dog it was that died;

or to hear of the learned Mlle. De Gournay, who defended her own compositions as "épiigrammes à la Grecque," and was told in turn that a poorly seasoned soup which she

criticized was "soupe à la Grecque." The whole debt of the modern world to printing is summed up in the adaptation of the tribute to Sappho (A.P. 9.506) found in Du Bellay's *Deffence*: "Imprimerie Soeur des Muses et dixiesme d'elles"; and there is a certain pathos in the frequency with which the Latin equivalent of A.P. 9.49 ("Inveni portum. Spes et Fortuna, valete") is quoted as a proper

inscription for the cell or cottage to which the man of letters retires in weariness from the world.

Misprints are so rare in the volume that one is surprised to find the period missing at the bottom of p. 36 and at the end of the quotation on p. 66.

CORNELIA C. COULTER

Mount Holyoke College

## ALEXANDER THE GREAT

ROBINSON, CHARLES ALEXANDER, JR., *Alexander The Great: the Meeting of East and West in World Government and Brotherhood*. New York, E. P. Dutton and Company (1947). Pp. 252. \$3.75.

THIS ABLE AND SCHOLARLY BIOGRAPHY of one of the most fascinating personalities in history has already been widely reviewed and widely acclaimed, not only in scholarly journals, but also in the popular press. Reviewers have almost unanimously stressed Professor Robinson's excellent prose style, and some even go so far as to call his work "unsensational," meaning by this, I presume, that he has not debased his book by spicing it with purple passages which seem to be the *sine qua non* of the current best seller, but has allowed the facts of Alexander's exciting career to speak for themselves without over-embellishment.

Since no facts of major importance about Alexander's life have been discovered since Wilcken's work appeared, a new book about Alexander must be judged by its literary merits and by its new interpretations of previously discovered evidence. On both counts Professor Robinson's biography rates high. His narrative, which is at times an adapted translation of an ancient source and thus captures something of the flavor and charm of the original, is so clear and orderly that even Alexander's battle tactics can be followed in detail without the aid of diagrams. The absence of footnotes also makes for clarity in reading, and for this reason the author was probably right to dispense with them, although an occasional reference would not,

perhaps, have detracted from the text, and might have been very helpful to the specialist. When a competent scholar without citing evidence makes a statement that is contrary to the generally accepted view, the specialist is at once in distress, feeling that there must lurk in some obscure place some evidence that has generally been overlooked. An example of this is Professor Robinson's statement that grain doles existed at Delos in the third century B.C. (p. 239); neither Larsen (*Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, IV, *Roman Greece*) nor Rostovtzeff (*Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*) cites evidence that would support this statement, and indeed Larsen writes (*op. cit.*, p. 346): "the grain fund [at Delos] . . . was used for business and not merely for charity."

Professor Robinson's book begins with a very readable discussion of the sources of information for Alexander's career. "In the narrative portions of this biography," he writes, "I have relied chiefly on Arrian, but I have also included stories from Plutarch and others" (p. 14); "only on rare occasions, in my opinion, is it permissible to appeal from Ptolemy and Aristobulus [= Arrian]" (p. 11). The story of Alexander's drunken march through Camarina, as recorded by Plutarch, Justin, and Diodorus, is thus rightly rejected, though it seems to me that the better reason for rejecting it is the inherent impossibility of the tale, rather than the fact that the tale is not recorded by Ptolemy or Aristobulus. Ptolemy in particular, as the earthly and divine successor of Alexander in Egypt, ought surely to have been interested in presenting Alexander (and thus himself) in as favorable



a light as possible: hence discreditable stories of Alexander are not necessarily untrue simply because Ptolemy did not tell them. Professor Robinson is, of course, fully aware of the comparative merits of source material, and his judicious use of it is one of the best features of his book. The acute observation that Herodotus was not read (or at any rate, not believed) by Alexander's intelligence officers (pp. 169, 170) may be cited as one of many examples.

An introductory chapter of less than forty pages includes not only an account of Alexander's early years and the probable motivation of his conquests, but also an epitome of the history of Greece from the Persian Wars to the death of Philip. To cover all this material in so short a space is an extremely difficult task, and Professor Robinson's attempt to do so, while lucid and well balanced, seems to suffer somewhat from over-compression. This part of the book contains categorical statements that might seem to some readers open to question. One wonders what the Spartans would have thought of "Pericles' Funeral Oration . . . describes the ideal of Pericles, and indeed of all Greece" (p. 23), or how the ancient Hebrews or the Roman plebeians would have reacted to "never before in the history of the world were the masses so conscious of economic-social contrasts or of their own power [as in fourth-century Greece]" (p. 29). In similar fashion in other parts of the book the reader is occasionally startled by such statements as "the fate of Thebes, however, was not unusual in the history of Greek warfare" (p. 61) and "except that under Greek influence Buddha ceased to be an abstraction in art and became a man, India would be exactly the same today had Alexander and the Greeks never existed" (p. 173: G. N. Banerjee [*Hellenism in Ancient India*, 7th ed., 1920] comes to much the same conclusion, but surely the statement as it stands is much too sweeping, unless we deny that Indian mathematics owed anything to Greek geometry, or that the British have been influenced in any way by ancient Greece).

To criticisms such as these, however, an author might with justification reply that it

is easy for a reviewer to give a wrong impression of a work by dismissing its good points briefly, while devoting most of his space to minor vulnerable points. Certainly the great bulk of Professor Robinson's book, in which he takes the reader through Asia Minor, Phoenicia, and Egypt, through Mesopotamia and Persia, through Turkestan and India and finally back to Babylon, is admirably done, and his chapters on Eastern Iran and India are a particularly fine piece of creative writing. Throughout the narrative the triple nature of Alexander's conquests is well marked. The Macedonians would have been satisfied to rest after the conquest of lands bordering the Mediterranean, and the Greeks considered their war of vengeance ended with the capture of the Persian capitals; Alexander, however, aimed at the conquest of the world (as he supposed the world to be) and hence after 330 B.C. he was obliged to rely more and more on Asiatic troops. Is it possible that he added large numbers of Bactrians and other Asiatics to his army in 328 B.C. simply because he had not enough Macedonians to catch Spitamenes without Asiatic assistance?

As a few simple themes are apt to be repeated with variations in a large musical work, so two themes constantly recur in Professor Robinson's pages. The first theme is the essential greatness of Alexander the man, and the many ways in which he exhibited a broader vision than any of his contemporaries. Not indeed that Alexander's acts of headstrong violence are condoned: it is impossible to whitewash the deaths of Parmenio and Cleitus, and Professor Robinson does not try. He flatly calls the death of Cleitus murder, and the execution of Parmenio the blackest crime of Alexander's life. Yet these acts are more than offset, in his opinion, by Alexander's many displays of unexpected consideration and unusual generosity, and his verdict seems to be that of Macaulay about Clive: "Men who are raised above ordinary restraints and tried by far more than ordinary temptations, are entitled to a more than ordinary measure of indulgence. . . . Their bad actions ought not, indeed, to be called good; but their good and bad actions ought

to be fairly weighed; and if on the whole the good preponderate, the sentence ought not to be merely one of acquittal, but of approbation. Not a single ruler in history can be absolved by a judge who fixes his eye inexorably on one or two unjustifiable acts."

The second theme is that not only did Alexander aim at a political union of the civilized world, but that he was the first man in history to advocate the essential brotherhood of all human beings and to make some attempt to usher in equal rights for all men. With this latter view not all readers will agree. They may feel that, while Alexander aimed at some measure of equality between Iranians and Macedonians and thus in a limited way anticipated to a certain extent the teachings of Zeno and the Stoics, it is noticeable that his ideas of equality and brotherhood of man were never extended to include the Egyptians or any Semitic peoples. Indeed, the desperate resistance offered the Macedonians by the people of Tyre and Gaza even after their Persian monarch had

abandoned them seems to indicate that they were terrified of what lay in store for them at Alexander's hand. However, it is well to recall that it is usually an impossible task to attain certainty in the matter of personal motivation in history, and hence each historian is obliged to present to his readers what seems to him, in the light of the known facts, the most probable motivation. This Professor Robinson has done, and done well.

The author is to be congratulated on finding so competent a publisher. Not only have Messrs. Dutton and Company produced an attractive book physically, with excellent print and paper, clear end-maps, and an artistic jacket, but through their rather extensive advertising campaign to reach the general book-buying public they have done the cause of the Classics good service. Readers who acquire the book in anticipation of a spectacular tale well told will not be disappointed.

JOHN H. KENT

*Southwestern at Memphis*

## POLITICAL AMNESTY

DORJAHN, ALFRED P., *Political Forgiveness in Old Athens: the Amnesty of 403 B.C.* (Northwestern University Studies in the Humanities, Number 13): Evanston, Illinois (1946). Pp. 56. \$1.50.

IN THIS CONCISE, closely articulated argument, Professor Dorjahn has painstakingly collected and examined the widely scattered and varied source material concerning the amnesty which was made between the warring factions in Athens following the Peloponnesian War. After an introduction in which he enumerates the six amnesties in Athenian history, he divides his study into five chapters that deal with the date of the amnesty, its institution and ratification, its scope, its enforcement, and the degree to which it was observed. He has considered in some detail the numerous earlier studies of the situation. A three-page index of Greek passages is appended, and in many places the pertinent passages are given in footnotes.

Professor Dorjahn naturally makes extensive use of the Greek orators, especially of Andocides, Lysias, and Isocrates. He wisely avoids placing excessive weight upon their arguments, knowing their skill at twisting evidence to suit their purpose. He does, however, justifiably draw conclusions from implications in their speeches, especially in the last two chapters. One wonders whether he should not mention the lapse of time between the amnesty and the date of some of his authorities. This lapse, noticeable in the case of Isocrates, is considerable in the case of Cornelius Nepos and Justin. He does not, apparently, take into account the fact that Xenophon's *Hellenica* was written by a pro-Spartan historian who as an exile from Athens could hardly have had current access to his sources. These matters, though obvious and quite probably considered by the author, deserve mention. But the Aristotelian *Constitution of Athens* is after all his basic evi-

dence, to which he uniformly defers as authoritative.

The section on the origin of the amnesty (pp. 16-20) affords an excellent example of Professor Dorjahn's handling of his materials. In attempting to decide which group in Athens most probably instituted it, he discusses the five factions concerned: the survivors of the Thirty, the Spartan Lysander, the exiled Athenian democrats, the second Board of Ten, and the Spartan King Pausanias. Common sense eliminates at once the two first. By evidence as well as by *a priori* reasoning, it is shown that the three remaining groups were all three strong con-

tenders for the honor. Dorjahn very fairly makes no attempt to force the evidence to support any one faction, and gives full weight to the possibility that all three may have collaborated.

Each chapter concludes with an adequate summary of the matters discussed in it. The reader who studies the evidence and the summation of it by Professor Dorjahn will feel that the evidence on the amnesty has now been satisfactorily collected, sifted, and evaluated.

JOHN PAUL PRITCHARD

University of Oklahoma

## Check List of Recent Books

Compiled by Lionel Casson and George A. Yanitelli of New York University and including books received at the Editorial Office.

### 1. ANCIENT AUTHORS

- Aeschylus*. The Prometheus Bound of Aeschylus. Translated by REX WARNER. 54 pages. Bodley Head, London 1947 6s.
- Aristotle*. GOHLKE, P. Die Entstehung der aristotelischen Ethik. 144 pages. Rohrer, Vienna 1947 (Akad. der Wiss. in Wien. Phil.-hist. Kl, Sitzungsberichte, 223.2)
- Bible*. The First Epistle of Peter; The Greek text with introduction and notes by FRANCIS WRIGHT BEARE. 194 pages. Macmillan, New York 1948 \$3.50
- Bible*. HEINISCH, PAUL. Probleme der biblischen Urgeschichte. iv + 194 pages. Rüben, Luzern 11.80 Swiss fr.
- Bible*. VINE, W. E. New Testament Greek Grammar. 228 pages. Pickering & Inglis, London 1947 7s. 6d.
- Caesar*. GORCE, M. César devant Gergovie. 202 pages, ill., maps. Picard, Paris 1947 150 fr.
- Caesar*. WALTER, G. César. 750 pages. Michel, Paris 1947
- Euripides*. ZÜRCHER, W. Die Darstellung des Menschen im Drama des Euripides. 210 pages. Rheinhardt, Basel 1947 (Schweiz. Beiträge zum Altertumswissenschaft, Heft 2)
- Herodotus*. The Persian Wars. Translated by GEORGE RAWLINSON, introduction by F. R. B. GODOLPHIN. 736 pages. Modern Library, New York 1947 \$1.25
- Homer*. BESPALOFF, RACHEL. On the Iliad. Translated from the French by Mary McCarthy. 126 pages. Pantheon, New York 1948 \$2.50.

- Homer*. OWEN, E. T. The Story of the Iliad as Told in the Iliad. 248 pages. Bell, London 1947 10 s. 6d.
- Philo*. WOLFSON, HARRY A. Philo: Foundations of Religious Philosophy in Judaism, Christianity and Islam. Vol. 1, 462 pages. Vol. II, 529 pages. Oxford, London 1947 55s. each.
- Pindar*. The Odes of Pindar. Translated by RICHMOND LATTIMORE. xii + 170 pages. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1947 15s.
- Plato*. GUARDINI, ROMANO. The Death of Socrates. Translated by BASIL WRIGHTON. 177 pages. Sheed & Ward, London 1947 10s. 6d.
- Plato*. PETREMENT, S. Le dualisme chez Platon, les gnostiques et les manichéens. 354 pages. Presses Universitaires, Paris 1947 (Bibl. de philos. contemp.)
- Plato*. SCHUHL, P. Études sur la fabulation platonicienne. 127 pages. Presses Universitaires, Paris 1947 (Bibl. de philos. contemp.)
- Plotinus*. Enneadi, Vol. 1. Prima versione integra e commentario critico di V. CILENTO. 461 pages. Laterza, Bari 1947
- Sophocles*. The Theban Plays: King Oedipus, Oedipus at Colonus, Antigone. Translated by E. F. WATLING. 185 pages. Penguin Books, London 1947 1s.

### 2. LITERARY HISTORY AND CRITICISM

- AMATUCCI, A. G. La letteratura di Roma imperiale. xiv + 421 pages. Cappelli, Bologna 1947 990 L.
- BOYCE, BENJAMIN. The Theophrastian Character in England to 1642, with notes by CHESTER NOYES GREENOUGH. 324 pages. Oxford, London 1947 27s. 6d. (Harvard U. Press in U. S.)
- LAISTNER, M. L. W. The Greater Roman Historians. 204 pages. University of California Press, Berkeley 1947 (Sather Classical Lectures, Vol. 21) \$3.00

### 3. LINGUISTICS, GRAMMAR, METRICS

- BUCK, CARL D., and WALTER PETERSEN. A Reverse In-

- dex of Greek Nouns and Adjectives. 782 pages. Chicago University Press, Chicago 1948 \$20 (\$10 to libraries)
- COLI, U. Saggio di lingua etrusca. 364 pages. Sansoni, Florence 1947
- DE SAINT-DENIS, E. Le vocabulaire des animaux marins en latin classique. 153 pages. Klincksieck, Paris 1947 (Études et commentaire, II)

## 4. HISTORY, SOCIAL STUDIES

- ALBERTARIO, E. Corso di diritto romano: Le obbligazioni Parte generale. 232 pages. Giuffrè, Milan 1947 550 L.
- BAYNES, NORMAN H. The Thought-World of East Rome. 45 pages. Oxford, London 1947 2s. 6d.
- CLES-REDEN, S. Das versunkene Volk. Welt und Land der Etrusker. 192 pages, 68 plates. Rohrer, Vienna 1947
- COLOMB, G. Vercingetorix. Histoire du pays gaulois depuis ses origines jusqu'à la conquête romaine. 285 pages. Fayard, Paris 1947
- DEL GRANDE, C. Hybris: Colpa e castigo nell'espressione poetica e letteraria degli scrittori della Grecia antica da Omero a Cleante. 560 pages. Ricciardi, Naples 1947 880 L.
- DEMARGNE, P. De la Crète mycénienne à la Crète archaïque. de Boccard, Paris 1947 (Bibl. des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 164)
- FOUGNIER, A. Mécène, ministre d'Auguste, protecteur des lettres. 70 pages, ill. Office de Publicité, Brussels 1947 (Coll. Lebègue, 83)
- FOWLER, W. WARDE. Rome. Revised by M. P. CHARLES-WORTH. Second edition, 168 pages. Oxford, London 1947 5s.
- GIGLI, G. La crisi dell'Impero Romano. 310 pages. Palumbo, Palermo 1947 880 L.
- HANSEN, ESTHER V. The Attalids of Pergamon. 464 pages. Oxford, London 1947 22s. (Cornell U. Press in U. S.)
- HEURGON, J. Recherches sur l'histoire, la religion et la civilisation de Capoue préromaine. de Boccard, Paris 1947 (Bibl. des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 154)
- LEMERLE, P. Philippos et la Macédonie orientale à l'époque chrétienne et byzantine. de Boccard, Paris 1947 (Bibl. des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 159)
- LESKY, A. Thalatta. 352 pages, ill. Rohrer, Vienna 1947
- LOMBARDI, G. Sul concetto di "Ius Gentium." xix + 403 pages. Ist. di Diritto Romano, Rome 1947 1800 L.
- MAGDELAINE, A. Auctoritas principis. 121 pages. Belles Lettres, Paris 1947 (Coll. d'études latines, série scient., 22)
- MARTIN-CLARKE, D. E. Culture in Early Anglo-Saxon England. 111 pages, 28 plates. Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore 1947 \$2.25
- PARIBENI, R. La Macedonia sino ad Alessandro Magno. vii + 113 pages. Vita e Pensiero, Milan 1947 (Pubbl. Un. Catt. S. Cuore) 330 L.
- REICHMOND, IAN. Roman Britain. 47 pages. Collins, London 1947 5s.

- SCHOENFIELD, HUGH J. The Jew of Tarsus: An Unorthodox Portrait of Paul. 255 pages. Macmillan, New York 1947 \$2.50
- VAN EFFENTERRE, H. La Crète et le monde grec de Platon à Polybe. de Boccard, Paris 1947 (Bibl. des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 163)
- VON WERTHEIMER, OSKAR. Kleopatra. Die genialste Frau des Altertums. iv + 456 pages, ill., plates, maps. Amalthea-Verlag, Zürich 1947 12.80 Swiss fr.
- ZELLWEKER, E. Troia. Drei Jahrtausende des Ruhms. 167 pages. Europa, Vienna 1947

## 5. PHILOSOPHY, RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY

- EITREM, S. Orakel und Mysterien am Ausgang der Antike. iv + 95 pages, plates. Rhein-Verlag, Zürich 1947 (Albae Vigiliae, N.F., Heft 5) 7.50 Swiss fr.
- HRKAL, E. Etruskischer Gottesdienst. Gerold, Vienna 1947
- PELLEGRINO, M. Gli apologeti greci del II secolo, saggio sui rapporti fra il Cristianesimo primitivo e la cultura classica. 281 pages. A.V.E., Rome 1947 450 L.
- RAHNER, H. Griechische Mythen in christlicher Deutung. 500 pages, ill., plates. Rhein-Verlag, Zürich 1947

## 6. ARCHAEOLOGY, ANTHROPOLOGY

- ALBENQUE, A. Inventaire de l'archéologie gallo-romaine du département de l'Aveyron. 204 pages, ill., plates. Carrère, Paris 1947 390 fr.
- BAUER, H. A. Das antike Athen. Text, and 20 color plates. Vienna 1947
- THE GREAT PALACE OF THE BYZANTINE EMPERORS: Being a First Report on the Excavations Carried Out in Istanbul on Behalf of the Walker Trust (The University of St. Andrews), 1935-1938. 107 pages, 64 plates. Oxford, New York 1947 \$40
- JAHRESHEFTE des österreichischen archäologischen Instituts in Wien, Band 36. 205 pages, ill. Rohrer, Wien 1947
- JUNKER, H. Bericht über die von d. Akademie d. Wissenschaften in Wien . . . unternommenen Grabungen auf d. Friedhof des Alten Reiches bei den Pyramiden Giza. Band 7.1, Der Ostabschnitt des Westfriedhofes. 280 pages, ill., 40 plates, map. Hölder, Vienna, 1947 (Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien. Phil.-hist. Kl., Denkschriften 72.3)
- LUGLI, G. Monumenti minori del Foro Romano. 194 pages, ill., plates. Bardi, Rome 1947 750 L.
- DE MECQUENEM, R., L., LE BRETON and M. RUTTEN. Archéologie suseenne. 232 pages. Presses Universitaires, Paris 1947 (Mém. de la mission archéol. en Iran, 30)
- PRASCHNIKER, C. and H. KENNER. Der Baederbezirk von Virunum. 243 pages, ill., plates. Hölder, Vienna 1947 (Österr. archäol. Inst.)
- RAPHAEL, MAX. Prehistoric Pottery and Civilization in Egypt. Pantheon, New York 1947 \$7.50.
- ROLLAND, H. Fouilles de Glanum (St. Rémy de Provence). 164 pages. 1947



7. EPIGRAPHY, NUMISMATICS, PAPHYROLOGY,  
PALEOGRAPHY

- CAHN, H. A. Griechische Münzen archaischer Zeit. 32 pages, ill. Amerbach, Basel 1947
- CREAGHAN, J. S. and A. E. RAUBITSCHKE. Early Christian Epitaphs from Athens. With a foreword by BENJAMIN D. MERITT. viii + 54 pages, 10 plates. Theological Studies, Woodstock, Md. 1948 (Reprinted from *Hesperia*, xvi) \$2.50
- ROBERT, L. Le sanctuaire de Sinuri pres de Mylasa. Prem. partie, Les Inscriptions grecques. 120 pages. de Boccard, Paris 1947 (Mém. de l'Inst. Français d'archéologie de Stamboul, t. 7)

8. HISTORY OF ART

- BEAZLEY, J. D. Etruscan Vase Painting. 351 pages, 40 plates. Oxford, London 1947 84s.
- CHARBONNEAUX, JEAN. Sculpture grecque archaïque. 224 pages, ill. Edit. de Cluny, Paris 1947 750 fr.
- CURTIS, L. Interpretationen von sechs griechischen Bildwerken. 280 pages, 10 plates. Francke, Bern 1947
- L'ORANGE, H. P. Apotheosis in Ancient Portraiture. 156 pages, ill. Harvard University Press, Cambridge 1947 (Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture, Series B 44) \$8.00
- SCHFOLD, K. Die Bildnisse der antiken Dichter, Redner und Denker. 228 pages, ill. Schwabe, Basel 1947

9. PATRISTIC STUDIES

- Augustine. De libero arbitrio voluntatis: St. Augustine on Free Will. 149 pages. Dietz, Richmond 1947 (University of Virginia Studies, Vol. 4) \$3.00
- Julianus Pomerius. The Contemplative Life. Translated

by Sister MARY JOSEPHINE SUELLER. Newman Book Shop, Westminster, Md. 1947 \$2.50

10. FICTION

- DE WOHL. The Living Wood. 318 pages. Lippincott, Philadelphia 1948 \$3.00
- WILDER, THORNTON. The Ides of March. Harper, New York 1948 \$2.75

11. TEXTBOOKS

- BLUCK, R. S. Plato's Seventh and Eighth Letters. 188 pages. Macmillan, New York 1948 \$1.75
- HENLE, ROBERT J. Third Year Latin. Revised by Charles T. Hunter. 479 pages, ill., maps. Loyola University Press, Chicago 1947 \$2.12
- ROBINSON, C. E. Pliny: Selections from the Letters. 111 pages. Macmillan, New York 1948 \$0.90
- SMITH, F. K. and T. W. MELLUM. Catullus: Selections from the Poems. Second revised edition. 126 pages, ill. Macmillan, New York 1948 \$0.90

12. MISCELLANEOUS AND UNCLASSIFIED

- ANGIOLILLO, PAUL F. Armed Forces' Foreign Language Teaching: Critical Evaluation and Implications. 450 pages. Vanni, New York 1947 \$5.00
- EUMUMA. Festgabe f. ERNST HOWALD zum sechzigsten Geburtstag am 20. April 1947. 207 pages. Zürich 1947
- GREENE, LORD. Classics and the Social Revolution of Our Time. 32 pages. Oxford, London 1947 8d.
- PHYLLOBOLIA f. P. VAN DER MÜHLL zum 60. Geburtstag herausgegeben und mit Beiträgen von F. WEHRLI, W. THEILER, O. GIGON u. a. 288 pages. Schwabe, Basel 1947

Current Events

ROME APPOINTMENTS

THE TRUSTEES of the American Academy in Rome have announced the appointment of the following Fellows of the Academy's School of Classical Studies, for the year 1948-1949:

RESEARCH FELLOWS: Arthur E. Gordon (B.A., Dartmouth; Ph.D., Johns Hopkins), now professor of Latin at the University of California at Berkeley; Dorothy M. Robathan (B.A., Wellesley; M.A., Columbia; Ph.D., Univ. of Chicago),

now chairman of the department of Latin at Wellesley.

SENIOR FELLOW: Lawrence Richardson, Jr. (B.A., Yale), now studying in Rome.

JUNIOR FELLOWS: Bertram Berman (B.A., Univ. of Cincinnati), now a graduate student at Cincinnati; Myra L. Uhlfelder (B.A., Univ. of Cincinnati), now a graduate student at Bryn Mawr.

MEDALS FOR HONOR STUDENTS IN LATIN

Teachers of fourth-year high-school Latin are reminded that the popular *Eta Sigma Phi* medals for honor students are again available. Discontinued during the war years, the manufacture and sale of these attractive awards has now been resumed.

Priced at \$1.25 each (which includes postage, exchange on check, etc.), the medals may be ordered from Professor H. Lloyd Stow, Registrar, *Eta Sigma Phi* Medal, University of Oklahoma. For full details, see the full-page ad at the back of the March, 1948, issue of *THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL* (page 382).

# Classical Articles in Non-Classical Periodicals . . .

AMERICAN SCIENTIST 36 (1948).—(January: 150-151) S. H. Gould, "Greek in Science." Homer and the modern scientist are often found to be employing the same Greek roots.

BULLETIN OF SPANISH STUDIES 24 (1947).—(October: 242-253) William C. Atkinson, "The Enigma of the *Persiles*." An analysis of the purpose of Cervantes' *Persiles*, with references to and comparisons with the *Aethiopica* of Heliodorus.

CATHOLIC WORLD 166 (1947).—(October: 65-68) Herbert Edward Mierow, "The Greeks Started It." Certain aspects and conventions of ancient tragedy are used to great advantage by modern dramatists such as O'Neill and Lord Dunsany. The former, for example, adds to the effectiveness of his play by not representing the violent end of Emperor Jones on the stage.—(1948).—(January: 315-319) Herbert Edward Mierow, "New Wine in Old Bottles." Euripides brought many innovations to Greek tragedy. He created the tragi-comedy (cf. the *Alcestis*) and apparently the phantasy (cf. the *Helen*) and, in general, "extended the possibilities of the drama in every way." The decline of tragedy after Euripides may also be attributed to him.

DURHAM UNIVERSITY JOURNAL 40 (1947).—(December: 19-27) G. B. Kerferd, "The Doctrine of Thrasymachus in Plato's *Republic*." A re-examination of "the account of Thrasymachus' doctrine in Plato's *Republic* . . . to show how it can form a self-consistent whole."

FOLK-LORE 58 (1947).—(June: 288-291) W. B. Sedgwick, "Oral Transmission in Ancient Times." In the study of popular tales too much attention is often given to the written transmission. The source of two Milesian stories, for instance, which are found in Apuleius and then disappear until they crop up again in the *Decameron* is probably Italian oral tradition; as far as Apuleius is concerned, there is no need of taking them back to Sisenna, who translated Aristides of Miletus about 100 B.C.

FORTNIGHTLY, no. 967, New Series (1947).—(July: 61-65) W. R. Inge, "Religion in Education." On the importance of Christianity and Hellenism in education.

GEOGRAPHICAL MAGAZINE 20 (1947).—(October: 230-239) Laurence Durrell, "The Island of the Rose." An account of the scenery, folk-lore, and history of the Island of Rhodes, with a map and eight pictures. Particular attention is paid to peasant legends which seem to be of ancient Greek origin and to the famous Colossus. The latter, "designed to commemorate the tremendous siege of antiquity when the Rhodians repulsed the forces of Demetrius Poliorcetes," never straddled the harbor; its location may have been "the present site of the tower of St Nicholas fronting Mandraccio harbour."

HARPER'S 195 (1947).—(August: 114-120) W. M. Ivins, Jr., "A Few Fallacies about Art." The fallacies here discussed are *The Basic Vicious Circle*, *The Golden Age*, *The Fallacy of the Essential and the Permanent*, *Progress and Decadence*, and *Pure Art*. Under the third rubric Mr. Ivins points out that, although Bishop Berkeley showed the fallacy of distinguishing between "the objective, permanent, essential, primary qualities, and the subjective, transient, particular, secondary qualities," Winckelmann "built a handy theory on that distinction" and thus became responsible for many false notions which "have since become the guiding principles and assumptions in the aesthetics and apologetics of Greek art." (September: 225-232) W. M. Ivins, Jr., "More Fallacies about Art." The headings in this sequel to Mr. Ivins' August article are *The Fallacy of Psychological Complex*, *The Greek Love of Order*, and *The Descriptive Fallacy*. Under the second of these he attacks many commonly-held theories both of Greek art in particular and of Greek civilization in general, thus: ". . . when we are told solemnly and with emphasis that one of the greatest achievements of the Greeks was that they discovered, not an ideal form of the human body, but the ideal form . . . , it becomes necessary not only to ask for whom it was ideal, but in what sense it was ideal. And with this question the solemn universal statement about this particular marvelous achievement of the Greeks becomes so much nonsense." "If the Greeks had actually had any innate sense of order, proportion, and harmony, it would have shown itself in their conduct, their politics, and their law." ". . . Among all the crookedly sophistical arguers the world has ever seen Socrates was one of the greatest sinners."—196 (1948).—(January: 49-55) John Douglas Pringle, "The Grandeur That Was Rome—in Africa." Outstanding among the classical ruins in North Africa are those of Leptis Magna. "The majority of the build-

ings now visible were built between 27 B.C., when Augustus reorganized the Empire, and 220 A.D. But the most magnificent were built at the end of second century A.D. in the reign of . . . Septimius Severus." One of the principal products of Leptis was olive oil; and silphium, "similar to a kind of wild carrot which still grows in Libya," was a valuable export.

HARVARD THEOLOGICAL REVIEW 40 (1947).—(July: 137-165) Morton S. Enslin, "Irenaeus: Mostly Prolegomena." (167-176) Martin P. Nilsson, "Greek Mysteries in the Confession of St. Cyprian." (October: 211-226) Friedrich Solmsen, "Strata of Greek Religion in Aeschylus." The *theoi genethlioi* are prominent in the *Suppliants*; in the *Seven against Thebes* they are the ancestors of the whole city-populace rather than of one family. The "Homeric" function of a god as patron of a certain phase of life is also found in Aeschylus, though a profounder view of the divinity's province, as in the case of Aphrodite, is often taken; with Zeus "the conception of deity as such" is deepened, although his older functions still remain. (227-256) Robert M. Grant, "Theophilus of Antioch to Autolycus."

ISIS 38 (1947).—(November: 3-11) George Sarton, "A Tribute to Gilbert Murray and a Plea for Greek Studies." (18-22) Louis O. Katsoff, "Ptolemy and Scientific Method." (51-53) Albert Lejeune, "Archimède et la Loi de la Réflexion."

ITALICA 24 (1947).—(June: 93-112) Paul O. Kristeller, "The Philosophy of Man in the Italian Renaissance." A discussion of "the three major currents which dominated the development of Italian thought between 1350 and 1520: Humanism, Platonism, and Aristotelianism," with an interesting incidental remark on the adequacy of the Latin language for the humanists: "A Neolatin literature which contains descriptions of tournaments, and of snowball-fights in the streets of fifteenth-century Florence certainly cannot be dismissed as academic." (September: 201-205) H. D. Austin, "Clockwise or Counter-Clockwise?—a Dante Study." The fact that "in Late Latin, at least, and apparently also to an extent in early Italian, clockwise motion was designated by phrases using the word(s) for 'left-hand'" can be explained by "a confusion of the prepositions *a(b)* and *ad* through assimilation with the initial consonant of a following word and the final loss of their own consonant." Thus *It. a sinistra*, from *Lat. a(b) sinistra*, would still agree with the notion that the general progress of Dante and Vergil through Hell was clockwise. (212-218) Joseph A. Russo, "Did Dante Know Terence?" "In view of

the fact that manuscripts of Terence existed in Dante's time, that conditions for access to these manuscripts were more than favorable, that Terence was amongst the poets most commonly read in the XIV century, that contemporaries of Dante knew Terence, and adding to this the natural desire that Dante would have had to read Terence, it is not at all illogical to conclude that Dante must have known Terence."

JOURNAL OF ENGLISH AND GERMANIC PHILOLOGY 46 (1947).—(July: 233-247) Allan H. Gilbert and Henry L. Snuggs, "On the Relation of Horace to Aristotle in Literary Criticism." A review of Marvin T. Herrick, *The Fusion of Horatian and Aristotelian Literary Criticism, 1531-1555*, The University of Illinois Press, Urbana, 1946, in the form of an article in four parts: I. Up to 1500. II. Sixteenth Century. III. Ben Jonson. IV. From Dacier to Butcher. (October: 348-366) Frederick R. Whitesell, "Fables in Mediaeval Exemplar." See especially for Table II: Graeco-Roman Fables with Designation of Oriental Parallels.

JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY 67 (1947).—(July-September: 177-183) Emil G. Kraeling, "Xisouthros, Deucalion and the Flood Traditions." Late flood-legends, such as that of the Hellenistic-Babylonian writer Berossos or the Syrian version (mentioned in passing by Lucian) of the Deucalion story, preserve ancient elements and therefore are still important for the Orientalist. Deucalion means "the infant Zeus, as Usener pointed out." In Ovid's version the account of Jupiter and Lycaon "has points of affinity with Yahweh's visit to Sodom" in *Genesis*.

JOURNAL OF THE HISTORY OF IDEAS 8 (1947).—(June: 373-374) Edgar W. Lacy, "Law and Justice in Antiquity and the Middle Ages." (October: 383-405) Reuben A. Brower, "Seven Agamemnons." Six English translations of the *Agamemnon* (of Aeschylus and Seneca) are here compared with their Greek source and analyzed to show what poetic diction was like at a given time, what the answer was to the question "What is poetry?" The translations range from an Elizabethan one of Seneca's tragedy through Browning's version (1877) of the Aeschylean play—a version which attempts "to defy the first condition of all translating: the necessity for the translator to find within his own language and civilization some equivalents for what he has experienced through the language of the original"—to MacNeice's *The Agamemnon of Aeschylus* (1936). (406-430) Philip Merlan, "Form and Content in Plato's Philosophy." Plato's works will not impart to us the complete contents of his philosophy, because

this cannot, in its essentials, be directly communicated by writing. "The relation between Plato's philosophical truth and his written works is not the direct relation of content and form of communication." After reading Plato's works we find ourselves, not instructed, but cross-examined, still wondering precisely what his philosophy was, and dissatisfied; "and perhaps it is just the form of Plato's writings [e.g., the myths, the refutation so typical of the Socratic dialogues, and the dialectic] which is essential to produce such a result." Furthermore, it is hardly likely that, even if we had all the oral teachings of Plato, we would be any better off in the problem of wholly understanding him. (431-448) Frederick A. Norwood, "Attitude of the Ante-Nicene Fathers toward Greek Artistic Achievement."

LIFE AND LETTERS 55, no. 123 (1947).—(November: 112-125) Sydney Goodsir Smith, "The Aeneid of Gawin Douglas." The translation of the Aeneid completed by Gawin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld, in 1513 is "an entirely Gothic and Scottish creation." Because of its Celtic spirit, because of all the neologisms and strange hybrids in which it abounds—Douglas "was intensely interested in language"—it may well be compared with James Joyce's work. It contains not only the Aeneid proper but prologues to each of the twelve books, the Renaissance continuation (Maphaeus Vegius' Thirteenth Book), and a prologue to that. Though Douglas often translates fairly closely, still, "as Urquhart after him, when he came on a passage that particularly appealed to him he was apt to embroider or expand it without regard to his original in a typically Gothico-Celtic manner."

## BASSETT

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES 62 (1947).—(November: 461-465) Georges May, "Racine Avait-il Lu Ennius?" Probable indebtedness of Racine's *Andromaque* to the fragments of Ennius' *Andromacha Aechmalotis*.

MODERN LANGUAGE QUARTERLY 8 (1947).—(June: 174-193) Alice S. Brandenburg, "English Education and Neo-Classical Taste in the Eighteenth Century." A study of "the narrowly classical nature of English education in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries [as] one of the factors in the creation and preservation of the neo-classical movement in literature. . . . The remarkable persistence of neo-classical canons, clichés, and procedures of criticism, even late in the eighteenth century, is partly the result, no doubt, of the fact that all of the student's formal and systematic study of literature was concerned

with the classics." (228-234) Georges May, "Contribution à l'Étude des Sources Grecques de 'Phèdre.'" The influence of Heliodorus' *Aethiopica* and of passages of Pindar's 13th Olympian Ode and Book vi of the *Iliad* on Racine's drama.

MODERN LANGUAGE REVIEW 42 (1947).—April: 161-172) Pamela Gradon, "Constantine and the Barbarians: A Note on the Old English 'Elene.'" (199-206) Jessie Crosland, "Ovid's Contribution to the Conception of Love Known as 'L'Amour Courtois.'" The germinating influence, direct and indirect, of Ovid on the love poetry of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in western Europe. (July: 337-341) Audrey Lumsden, "Garcilaso de la Vega as a Latin Poet." A brief study of three Latin odes composed in Horatian metrical form.

MODERN PHILOLOGY 45 (1947).—(August: 46-53) Bernard Weinberg, "The Sources of Grevin's Ideas on Comedy and Tragedy." Text of Grevin's "Brief discours pour l'intelligence de ce theatre," a preface to an edition of his dramas (1561), with the source passages in a parallel column. The main sources are Donatus' *Vita Terenti* and the fragment *De Comoedia et Tragoedia*, the so-called "Evanthius" fragment *De Fabula*, the sections on comedy and tragedy in Diomedes' *Ars Grammatica*, and Aristotle's *Poetics*. Most of Grevin's erudition came to him at second hand. (November: 73-103) Samuel Kliger, "The Gothic Revival and the German *Translatio*." An important factor in the creation of the Gothic vogue in England was the *translatio imperii ad Teutones*, "a powerful thought-current set in motion by the Reformation," which "suggested forcefully an analogy between the break-up of the Roman Empire by the Goths and the demands of the humanist reformers of northern Europe, interpreted as liberation from Roman priestcraft." The *translatio* "invoked for the Renaissance reader a complex of traditional ideas associated with the pre-eminence of Rome as the cultural center of the world": (1) the classical (pagan) conception of the *urbs aeterna*, (2) the patristic (Christian) acceptance of the *urbs aeterna* as *urbs sacra*, (3) the significance attached to the accession of Charlemagne to the imperial title of the Holy Roman Emperor, "a literal *translatio imperii ad Teutonicos*." (112-117) Frank L. Huntley, "Dryden's Discovery of Boileau." Dryden's quotation of Longinus (33) by way of Boileau's French version, in his "Apology for Heroic Poetry and Poetic Licence," a preface to *The State of Innocence and Fall of Man*, *An Opera* (1674), leads to the conclusion that "this preface also marks



Dryden's first meeting with Boileau's *Art Poétique*."

NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC MAGAZINE 92 (1947).—(December: 739-768) Nelson Glueck, "An Archaeologist Looks at Palestine." With 11 photographic illustrations and a map. (793-812) F. G. Renner, "Erosion, Trojan Horse of Greece." With 19 photographic illustrations and a map. "Many of Greece's real problems, poor health and poverty with all their attendant evils, are traceable to the ills of her agriculture."

PMLA (PUBLICATIONS OF THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA) 62 (1947).—(December: 598-621) Robert A. Pratt, "Chaucer's Use of the *Teseida*." The influence upon Chaucer of Boccaccio's *Teseida*, an epic modeled upon Statius' *Thebaid* and Virgil's *Aeneid*. (672-689) Baxter Hathaway, "The Lucretian 'Return Upon Ourselves' in Eighteenth-Century Theories of Tragedy." A careful study of the use of the Lucretian doctrine of pleasure, as expressed in the opening lines of Book ii of the *De Rerum Natura*, as a focal point or constant in "theorizing about tragedy during the Neo-Classical period. . . . This theorizing is not, as so often has been thought, all of one piece."

QUARTERLY REVIEW 285 (1947). (July: 458-470) N. D. Coleman, "Some Observations upon the Translation of the New Testament into English."

QUEEN'S QUARTERLY 54 (1947-48).—(Winter: 498-499) E. H. W. Meyerstein, "Conon." A poem about "the Ptolemies' astronomer."

REVIEW OF POLITICS 9 (1947).—(July: 350-361) John S. Marshall, "Aristotle and the Agrarians." Aristotle, "like the antebellum Southern aristocrat, is a natural agrarian, one who finds a joy in life close to cultivated nature, a nature assisting and aiding man to find the fuller life, the life of earthly joy. . . . Slavery is not a foundation of such a conception, though slavery did seem to Aristotle and to many ante-bellum Southern aristocrats a necessary means to that end." The Aristotelian agrarianism is aristocratic, for "it is the aristocratic use of leisure for the higher pursuits of life that saves us from barbarism, that gives us a higher culture." Thus "there is needed the city as the center of certain cultural achievements. . . . Such a city is a necessary part of Aristotle's conception, it is the focal center of the larger culture, the larger life."

SCHOOL REVIEW 55 (1947).—(September: 402-407) Mark E. Hutchinson, "Can High-School Students Learn to Read Latin?" Reading ability

can be attained if four common obstacles are removed from elementary Latin textbooks: (1) inane content of the reading material, (2) reading material that is insufficiently graded according to frequency and difficulty of vocabulary, (3) high vocabulary density and vocabulary burden, (4) excess of "linguistic exercises," at the expense of the main objective—the reading of Latin. (December: 599-604) James G. Esneault, "Theory and Practice in General Language Courses, 1915-1947."

STUDIES IN PHILOLOGY 44 (1947).—(July: 477-482) H. D. Austin, "Notes on the Greek in 'Dante's Latin Dictionary.'" Greek constitutes a very large proportion of Uguiccone da Pisa's *Magnae Derivationes*, used by Dante.

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO QUARTERLY 16 (1947).—(July: 341-348) Helen Waddell, "Lament for Damon: The *Epitaphium Damonis* of Milton." An English verse translation, first privately printed in England in 1943, of Milton's Latin poem.

SPAETH

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY  
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF ARTS AND SCIENCE  
DEPARTMENT OF CLASSICS

Graduate Courses, Summer 1948

The following half courses, each equivalent to three hours or three credits, will be offered by the Department of Classics, New York University, June 28-August 6, 1948:

Classics 128. PLAUTUS. Reading and discussion of two plays; study of the influence of Greek New Comedy on Plautus, and of Plautus on the subsequent development of comedy. Asst. Professor Lionel Casson. TTh, 6:00-8:30 P.M.

Classics 248. ARISTOPHANES. *ACHARNIANS*. Contents of the play; evaluation of its importance in the Aristophanic corpus; lectures on the development of Attic comedy. Advanced students will read a second play. Dr. Procope S. Costas. MW, 6:00-8:30 P.M.

Classics 290. THE ANCIENT CITY. Principal ancient city types; sites, plans, defenses, public works, markets, industries, housing, and places of worship, as illustrated by archaeological reports. Assoc. Professor Jotham Johnson. MTh, 2:30-5:00 P.M.

For Graduate School Announcements and application forms, address the Dean, Graduate School of Arts and Science, New York University, New York 3, N.Y. For other information or for personal counsel, address the departmental adviser, Professor Jotham Johnson, Department of Classics, New York University, New York 3, N.Y.

**"Does your father have authority over his family such as the Roman father had?"**

Through pertinent questions in special sections labelled *Legacy*; through close tie-up of grammar and vocabulary; through special *Roman background* sections in English, Jenkins-Wagener makes Latin live, helps students get full benefits from Latin study.

JENKINS-WAGENER **LATIN AND  
THE ROMANS**

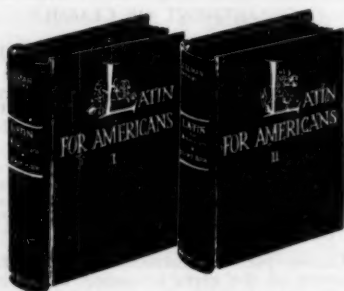
Write for detailed information

BOSTON 17

**GINN AND COMPANY**

NEW YORK 11

CHICAGO 16 ATLANTA 3 DALLAS 1 COLUMBUS 16 SAN FRANCISCO 3 TORONTO 5



ULLMAN  
AND  
HENRY

*leadership in Latin*

*Latin for Americans*

Send for descriptive  
illustrated booklet  
E-120

BOOK ONE :: BOOK TWO  
*For first year For second year*

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

New York : Boston : Chicago : Dallas : Atlanta : San Francisco

